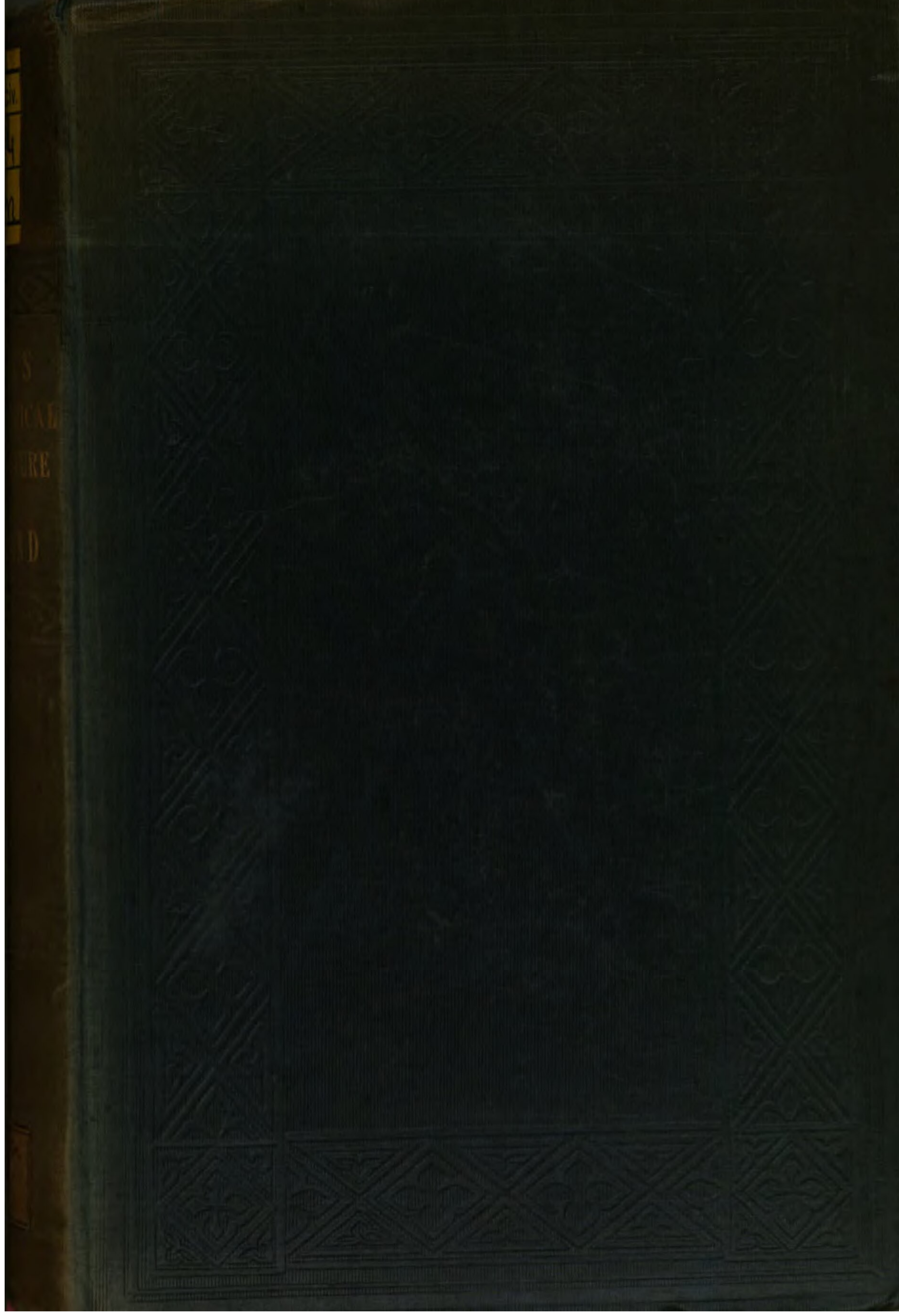




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A HISTORY  
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**Ecclesiastical Architecture**  
IN ENGLAND.



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GEO. ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

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PRINTED



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BY  
GEO. AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A.,  
VICAR OF WELFORD.

LONDON:  
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AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.

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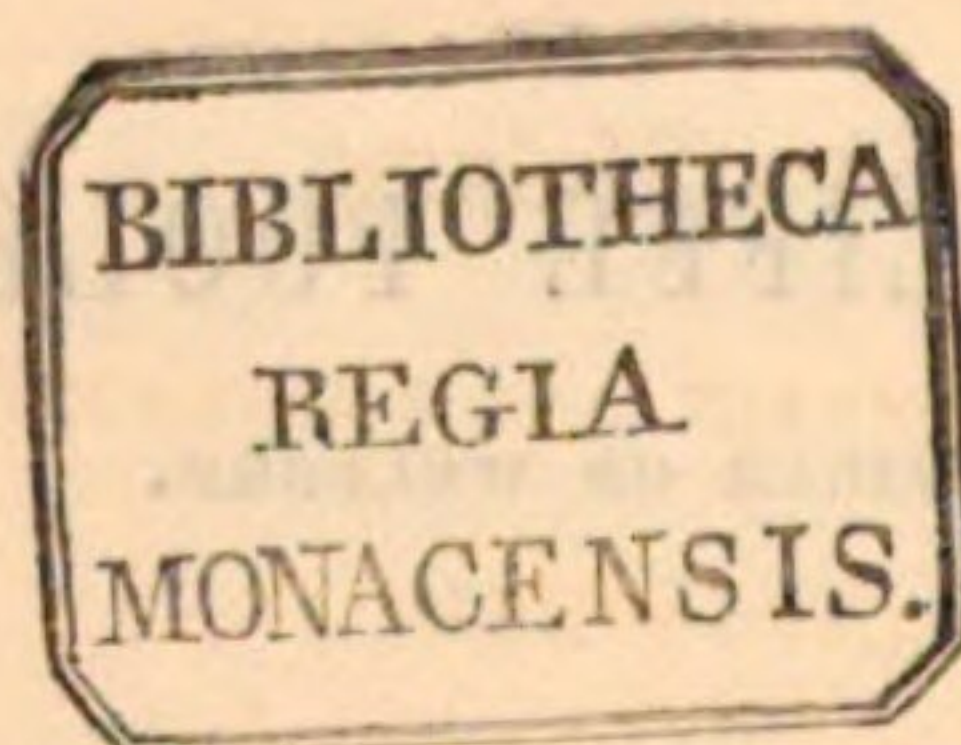


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TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
RICHARD,  
BY DIVINE PERMISSION,  
LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS,  
*This Volume*  
IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY  
INSCRIBED,



THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

NICHOLAS

OF THE ORDER OF SAINT BENEDICT

MONK BISHOP OF RATH AND WELLS



## PREFACE.

---

THE author has endeavoured in this volume, to combine a general history of the greater English ecclesiastical architects of the middle ages, with an equally general view of their works, and of the characters which distinguish the buildings of their respective ages: and he hopes that the result of a plan thus loosely didactic, may be to excite some additional interest in the masters of a great art in its highest application, and a more vivid, as well as a more just perception of the merits of their works.

He is aware that his work is very far from what it ought to be. *Incomplete* it is necessarily; it will probably be considered *meagre*: should it even be taken as a mere *melange* of ecclesiological notes, he will be satisfied with the estimate, if only it obtain the praise of being *real* as far as it goes.

That it may deserve this praise at least, the monkish historians, the only coeval sources of information, are left to speak for themselves on such subjects as miracles, doctrines, and counsels of perfection, when they are connected with church building. We neither do nor can think, believe, and feel with them ourselves, and we should deprecate nothing more seriously than a use of their works which should lead others to an indiscriminate reception of their facts, or of their theology. Still it must be remembered, that the opinions which they express, the feelings which they avow, even the stories which they relate, whether they be or be not real and true in themselves, or in our judgment, are clearly so in the philosophy of the history of art. It is not *the truth* of an opinion, or the view which *we* take of it; but it is the view which *he* took of it, which influenced



Aylwin in the building of Ramsey Abbey. It is not *our* estimate of their character, or *our* way of expressing it, but it is *their* estimate, and *their* way of expressing it, which indicate the degree in which their contemporaries were influenced by such men as Wolstan, and John of Wisbeach.

It is impossible to write on such subjects without a moral tone, though direct moralizing may be avoided; unless indeed one can divest oneself of the feeling that they have a moral, and this is a power which the author by no means covets. He feels that the moral here is a wholesome one. Every instance in which we are brought into connection with those to whom we owe our very existence as individuals, and as a nation, ought to make us feel our fellowship rather than our distance, and to teach us a proper estimate of ourselves and of our fathers. If there are many things which tend to lessen the influence even of our common Christianity in making us one with them, it will be useful to view them as engaged in a work, of which we inherit the advantages: and if we are superior, as we are and ought to be, to our remote ancestors, in many things,—in the arts of life, in habits of society, in soundness of objective faith; and if we are quite as conscious of this as is consistent with charity and humility, it may be a wholesome exercise for us to pursue a study which will present them to us as unquestionably our superiors in one branch of the arts, and in one of the fruits of true religion.



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A HISTORY  
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CHAPTER I.

THE ANGLO-ROMAN PERIOD.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.—WOODEN CHURCH AT GLASTONBURY.—PROPORTIONS OF THIS CHURCH FOLLOWED IN IRELAND.—KING LUCIUS.—THE DIOCLESIAN PERSECUTION.—THE MARTYRDOM AND CHURCH OF S. ALBAN.—CHURCHES RESTORED AFTER THE PERSECUTION.—INFLUENCE OF ROMAN SWAY ON BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL ART.

THERE is something very remarkable in the number and beauty of ecclesiastical edifices in this and other portions of western Christendom, possessing a character by which they are collected into one class, however different they may be in magnitude, or in details and accidental varieties of arrangement.

It is still more remarkable, that these structures, so numerous, and combining within themselves so many elements of beauty, are the work of less than five centuries,<sup>1</sup> and those not the most competent, as we should judge *à priori*, to design and complete a series of works, at the same time great and beautiful, requiring a disciplined, as well as a bold conception, and for their completion great mechanical and scientific acquirements.

<sup>1</sup> In Germany, however, with Normandy and other parts of France, the style now called Norman had attained some degree of perfection, at least a

century before it had been embodied in such churches as Durham and Tewkesbury in England.



Until the twelfth century our forefathers were but slowly feeling their way towards the perfection of ecclesiastical architecture, and after the fifteenth there was not a single additional form or character of beauty added to the resources of the ecclesiastical architect. From this time a people comparatively civilized in other things, became so tasteless as to depreciate, so barbarous as to destroy the stately monuments of primeval art, or to strip them of all their loveliness; and the sixteenth century left but the wreck of many of the most stately ecclesiastical fabrics, and those which remained mourned, and still mourn as a bride without her jewels. At length, indeed, we have become sensible of the beauties which our fathers despised, ravaged and destroyed. For a while we wondered at the mighty structures, and were impressed with a sort of vague feeling that it was beyond our *physical* and *constructive* powers to build the like. Now we pay a deeper and a truer homage, in confessing that there is something almost incommunicable, or which at least we cannot catch, in the soul which informs those lovely structures. We confess, though unwillingly, our inability to match them either in their vastness, or in their beauty: in their vastness, for want of devotion or of wealth; in their beauty, for want of refined taste, and principles of harmonious composition. Yet wherein are our resources inferior to those of our ancestors of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries? In the wealth both of the individual and of the community we are greatly superior to them; not only as wealth is counted in gold and silver, but as it represents the means of commanding elegance and splendour, and of executing vast national works. In general taste and refinement we are beyond all comparison their superiors. Our science and our applications of science to mechanical arts, would surprise the philosopher or the mechanic of the thirteenth century, as much as their advancement in architecture shames us: yet for so many hundred years our ancestors did always, what we, in about as many, have always failed to do. In short, and this is the great reproach, in everything else, even in every other application of architecture,—in our mansions, our palaces, our bridges, our public works, our courts and exchanges, our public streets, our docks, our piers, our beacons,—we surpass our forefathers; but in our religious edifices we are far beneath them: and, as if by



a necessity against which we cannot struggle, we are kept beneath them. They *dwelt* in hovels, and *worshipped* in houses exceeding magnificent; we *dwell* in cedar, and *worship* in meagre or dilapidated churches.

We must guard, however, at the outset against a notion that the decline of ecclesiastical architecture is to be traced to the Reformation. Many beautiful structures were indeed destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries, but this was no part of the Reformation properly so called: it preceded, and did not follow the establishment of a reformed ritual; and it was the work of a prince in all doctrinal matters as popish as any of his predecessors. Nor was Henry VIII. the first to devise or to execute this wholesale sacrilege. The alien priories had been already seized several times, and at last wholly confiscated by Henry V. (A.D. 1414.) Wolsey had dissolved and despoiled religious houses to found his own college, nine years before the dissolution of the lesser, and thirteen years before that of the greater monasteries. But it is still more to the purpose that both here and abroad the decline of ecclesiastical art, in all its branches, had preceded the Reformation: that architecture was debased, and partially paganized, all over the continent, as well as in England, before the quarrel of Henry VIII. with the Pope; and of course long before the Reformation had taken any definite form. Moreover the downward course of ecclesiastical architecture has been at least as rapid in other countries as in our own. New churches have been as wretched,—old ones have been as injudiciously restored, and as recklessly and more universally destroyed; nay, wholesale sacrilege and the dissolution of religious houses have been practised without any connection with a change in doctrine. And, finally, the present revival of ecclesiastical art commenced in Protestant England, and among Anglo-Catholics; and we heartily hope that it may yet grow into a living proof, that we are not deserted by the spirit of our fathers, in all that is great and lovely.

The decline of our ecclesiastical architecture was rapid, and its extinction instantaneous: its growth had been slow and gradual, and its vigour of long continuance. It is true that the number of Saxon churches and monasteries was very great, and that in some cases they could boast a dignity and an appropriate-



ness to the solemn use for which they were designed, beyond that of any other buildings of their time. Yet it must be confessed that there was scarcely a single edifice which could compare in grace of conception and beauty of detail, with those with which the Normans were familiar at their first coming into England. But it must be remembered that we ought not to compare the Saxon churches with the works of another age or another people, to which they may or may not have been immeasurably superior or hopelessly inferior, but with the secular works of the same age and nation. It may fairly admit a doubt, however, how soon the greatest efforts were directed to religious works in England. Christianity came into the island with the Romans; not, however, as a recognized part of a system, but in the person of a few dependants of the proconsular court, and a few soldiers in stipendiary legions. The new occupants of a conquered and barbarous island, were employed first in necessary military works, and next in the erection of theatres, halls, and basilicas: tokens of their luxury and authority, not of their piety. They erected here and there an altar to Venus or to Mercury; but a temple perhaps worthy of the name nowhere. The Christians among them would scarcely aspire to the possession of more than a little oratory, like a lodge in the wilderness, betokening the low condition, and the uncertain tenure, of military colonists: and the few who came or remained as missionaries, would be as unable as the rest were unwilling, to erect costly temples, until their preaching had already produced its effect on whole tribes of the aboriginal inhabitants.

The history of those times, whether legendary or authentic, confirms the natural deduction. The first Christian temple in England, as all accounts agree, was that at Glastonbury; and there is an equal consent in the tradition that it was of very humble materials, and of very rude construction. As this church in its progressive splendour often occurs in the history of Christian art, I will transcribe the account which William of Malmsbury gives of its erection. Having related how Joseph of Arimathea was appointed by Philip, at the persecution which followed the death of Stephen, to preach the gospel in this island, with eleven companions, he adds,—

“These holy missionaries coming into Britain in the year of



our LORD 63, and in the fifteenth of the Blessed Virgin's assumption, published the doctrine of CHRIST with great industry and courage. But the barbarous king and his subjects, being somewhat alarmed at so unusual an undertaking, and not relishing a persuasion so different from his own, refused to become a proselyte; but in consideration of the length of their voyage, and being somewhat charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes, to dwell in. This place was called Ynswitrin by the natives, and situated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other pagan kings being affected with their remarkable sanctity, gave each of them a certain proportion of ground, and, at their request, settled twelve hides of land on them, by instruments in writing, according to the custom of the country; from whence it is supposed the twelve hides, now part of the abbey's estate, had their denomination.

"The holy men being thus settled in this place, which was no better than a wilderness, were, in a short time, ordered by the Angel Gabriel, who appeared to them, to build a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, in a place to which they were supernaturally directed; who, immediately pursuing their instructions from heaven, built a chapel, the walls of which were made of osiers twisted together. This small structure was finished in the one and thirtieth year after our SAVIOUR'S Passion, having little of ornament in the figure, but very remarkable for the Divine presence, and the beauty of holiness: and this being the first church in this island, the SON of GOD was pleased to grace it with a particular distinction, dedicating it Himself in honour of His mother."

Insignificant as this church must have been as a work of art, except with a very liberal allowance for the circumstances under which it was erected, it would yet be preserved with more care than many a finer structure, for the interest of the associations with which it was crowded. Accordingly we find so long after as the eleventh century, the wooden church of Glastonbury still remaining. Canute's Charter of Glastonbury was written and published in the *wooden church*, in presence of King Canute, in the year of our LORD 1032.<sup>1</sup> This was nearly a hundred years

<sup>1</sup> Companion to Glossary.



after Dunstan had erected a far more splendid edifice at Glastonbury, but he probably retained this as a portion of his work, and through all successive changes its exact size and position were held in remembrance. In the more modern church as it stood till the Reformation, there was affixed to a column a brass plate bearing an inscription, which recorded the history of the erection and consecration of the church, together with the addition of a chancel, on account of the greater number of brethren who worshipped there; and though this addition was made, as the inscription bears, by Divine inspiration, yet so great reverence attached to the original proportions of the structure, that they were thus expressly recorded: "Lest the position or the size of the former church should be forgotten, on account of such additions, this column is erected, in a line drawn through the two eastern angles of the said church, towards the south, and dividing the before-mentioned chancel from it. And its length from the said line westward was sixty feet, and its breadth twenty-six feet, and the distance of the centre of this column from the middle point, between the said angles, forty-eight feet."<sup>1</sup>

These dimensions have an interest not at first sight apparent, and form a very curious connecting link between the ecclesiastical architecture of England and of Ireland. Among the memorable names connected with Glastonbury, was that of S. Patrick, the

<sup>1</sup> The whole inscription is given by Mr. Petrie from Sir Henry Spelman. It is as follows: "Anno post passionem domini xxxi<sup>o</sup> duodecim sancti ex quibus Joseph ab Arimathia primus erat, huc uenerunt, qui ecclesiam huius regni primam in hoc loco construxerunt, qui Christi [quam Christus] in honorem sue matris et locum pro eorum sepultura presencialiter dedicauit. sancto Dauid Meneuencium archiepiscopo hoc testante. Cui dominus ecclesiam illam dedicare disponenti in sompnis apparuit et eum a proposito revocavit. necnon in signum quod ipse dominus ecclesiam ipsam prius cum cimiterio dedicarat, manum episcopo digito perforavit, et sic perforata multis uidentibus in crastino apparuit; postea uero idem episcopus,

domino reuelante ac sanctorum numero in eadem crescente, quendam cancellum in orientali parte huic ecclesie adiecit et in honore beate virginis consecrauit. Cuius altare inestimabili saphiro in perpetuam huius rei memoriam insigniuit. Et ne locus aut quantitas prorsus [prioris] ecclesie per tales augmentaciones obliuioni traderetur: erigitur hec columpna in linea per duos orientales angulos ejusdem ecclesie uersus meridiem protracta et predictum cancellum ab ea abscindente. Et erat ejus longitudo ab illa linea uersus occidentem lx. pedum, latitudo uero ejus xxvi. pedum, distancia centri istius columpne a puncto medio inter predictos angulos xlviii. pedum."



Apostle of Ireland, who, according to the Glastonbury account, and some Irish legends, was buried in this church. Now it seems that sixty feet was the usual length even of the larger churches in Ireland, built under the direction of S. Patrick, and after his example for many centuries.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Petrie, in his very valuable inquiry into the origin and uses of round towers of Ireland, suggests that the general adoption of this size originated either in reverence for this model, (i. e., the church of Glastonbury,) or for some similar one derived from the primitive Christians.<sup>2</sup>

From this year, 63, we have few or no accounts of the foundation of churches till the time of King Lucius; but from the number attributed to him, whether truly or not, we may conclude that ecclesiastical buildings were considerably multiplied in his time. The conversion of Lucius took place in 176, and his death in 201. Within this interval, according to Geoffry of Monmouth, the greatest part of Britain was cleared of heathenism, the revenues of the pagan priests were transferred to Christian Bishops and Clergy, and many of the pagan temples cleansed of the relics of idolatry and false worship, were consecrated to the service of the true God. Britain was also divided at the same time into three provinces, formerly under the authority of heathen archflamens, and metropolitan churches were erected in London, York, and the city of Legions,<sup>3</sup> which its old wall and buildings show to have been situated on the river Uske in Glamorganshire.<sup>4</sup> Lucius himself largely increased the ecclesiastical revenues out of his royal patrimony, and built several churches.<sup>5</sup> The following which are connected in after ages with

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of the size of the ancient churches of Ireland, Mr. Petrie has collected a mass of very curious matter; among the rest he gives the history of the foundation of the great church of S. Patrick, near Feltown, in Meath, which is thus related in the tripartite history, ascribed to S. Evan. "In that very place where his residence was, (where he had received S. Patrick,) Conal laid the foundation of a church to God and S. Patrick, which was in length sixty of his feet; (*quod*

*pedibus ejus LX pedum erat*;) but he removed his habitation to another spot. And then Patrick said to him, 'Whoever shall be so bold as to attempt anything against this church, his reign shall be neither happy nor long.'"—Petrie's Round Towers, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie at pp. 161 and 193—196.

<sup>3</sup> Carleon on Uske.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffry of Monmouth, iv. 19, and v. 1.

<sup>5</sup> As an instance of the great exaggeration which may sometimes be found



many interesting passages of the history of the Church or of architecture, are among the number: Westminster Abbey; the chapel in Dover Castle; the church of S. Martin, Canterbury; the church and monastery of Winchester; a school at Cambridge, and a school and church at Bangor. Glastonbury, already mentioned as the first church erected in England, was restored and greatly enriched by Lucius, and the good example of the sovereign was followed by his nobles; for when he was engaged in the erection of S. Peter's, Cornhill, in London, Ciran, one of his courtiers, largely contributed to the work, at the request of Thean, Archbishop of London. Lucius died at Gloucester, and was buried in the great church there.

Thus King Lucius occupies, as every Christian king in the like state of society ought to occupy, a considerable space in the history of ecclesiastical architecture. And perhaps all that we can really collect from the legendary importance attached to his name, is the strong sense which a Christian people had of the obligation in kings to provide for the worship of God, and the grateful recognition of their fidelity in fulfilling it. King Lucius was the impersonation of a Christian, and a missionary prince, nursing and cherishing the Church with all his heart, and all his power; and not neglecting, as indeed no truly pious Churchman will neglect, the exterior and material comeliness of her services. As the perfection of chivalry and a greater number of chivalrous exploits than one man ever performed, were afterwards attributed to King Arthur, the mirror of Christian knighthood; so were all Christian energy and devotion, and many more acts of beneficence than can satisfactorily be appropriated to him, given to Lucius, the Christian king. This gives to the story a mythical instead of a literal and circumstantial truth; but still we may safely infer, that before the end of the second century many churches had been erected in England, and that the sanctity of the LORD's house was generally acknowledged.

The next century opens with a disastrous period for the

in such stories, we may adduce the words of Nennius, who tells us (54) that S. Patrick wrote three hundred and sixty-five canonical and other

works, relating to the Catholic faith, and founded as many churches, and consecrated as many Bishops.



Church. The Dioclesian persecution commenced in 303, and continued during the ten succeeding years ; and though in Britain its fierceness was mitigated, and its duration limited by Constantius Chlorus, who governed here with the title of Cæsar, yet many Christians were put to death, and the churches were everywhere demolished.<sup>1</sup>

One of those who earned a glorious crown in the persecution must not be lightly passed over. The story of S. Alban, the English protomartyr, is mingled with some doubtful particulars ; but since what is true in it induced those Christians who survived him to erect the first church on the spot from whence he rose to receive his crown, and since what is doubtful was reported and believed by the generations who enlarged the first foundation, the whole of the story, as related by Gildas and Bede, enters into the philosophy of the history of ecclesiastical art in England.

“ S. Alban, for charity’s sake, saved another confessor who was pursued by his persecutors, by hiding him in his house, and then by changing clothes with him ; imitating in this the example of CHRIST, Who laid down His life for His sheep, and exposing himself in the other’s clothes to be pursued in his stead. So pleasing to GOD was this conduct, that between his confession and martyrdom, he was honoured with the performance of wonderful miracles.

“ Being led to execution, he came to a river which, with a most rapid course, ran between the wall of the town and the arena where he was to be executed. He there saw a multitude of persons of both sexes, and of several ages and conditions, which was doubtlessly assembled by Divine instinct, to attend the blessed confessor and martyr, and had so taken up the bridge on the river, that he could scarce pass over that evening. S. Alban therefore, urged by an ardent and devout wish to arrive quickly at martyrdom, drew near to the stream, and on lifting up his eyes to heaven, the channel was immediately dried up, and he perceived that the water had departed, and made way for him to pass. Among the rest, the executioner who was to have put him to death observed this, and, moved by Divine inspiration, hastened to meet him at the place of execution, and casting down the sword which he had carried ready drawn, fell at his feet, praying that he might rather suffer with the martyr, whom he was ordered to execute, or, if possible, instead of him.

“ Whilst he thus from a persecutor was become a companion in the faith, and the other executioners hesitated to take up the sword which

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, i. 9.



was lying on the ground, the reverend confessor, accompanied by the multitude, ascended a hill about five hundred paces from the place, adorned, or rather clothed with all kinds of flowers, having its sides neither perpendicular, nor even craggy, but sloping down into a most beautiful plain, worthy from its lovely appearance to be the scene of a martyr's sufferings. On the top of this hill S. Alban prayed that God would give him water, and immediately a living spring broke out before his feet, the course being confined, so that all men perceived that the river also had been dried up in consequence of the martyr's presence. Here, therefore, the head of our most courageous martyr was struck off, and here he received the crown of life, which God has promised to those who love Him. But he who gave the wicked stroke, was not permitted to rejoice over the deceased; for his eyes dropped upon the ground, together with the blessed martyr's head.

"The blessed Alban suffered death on the twenty-second day of June, near the city of Verulam, where afterwards, when peaceable Christian times were restored, a church of wonderful workmanship, and suitable to his martyrdom, was erected. In which place, there ceases not to this day the cure of sick persons, and the frequent working of wonders."

The visit of Germanus to the church of S. Alban comes so nearly within this portion of the history that we shall subjoin it, only noting that it is valuable also as affording indications of the growth of principles other than simply Christian, which had already in some degree affected the arrangement of churches. "The heresy of Pelagius having been refuted and all the people's hearts settled in the purity of the faith, the priests repaired to the tomb of the martyr, S. Alban, to give thanks to God through him. There Germanus, having with him relics of all the Apostles, and of several martyrs, after offering up his prayers, commanded the tomb to be opened, that he might lay up therein some precious gifts; judging it convenient, that the limbs of saints brought together from several countries, as their equal merits had procured them admission into heaven, should be preserved in one tomb."<sup>1</sup>

William of Malmsbury adds Offa to the benefactors of the same church, before the Norman conquest. This monarch ordered the relics of S. Alban, at that time obscurely buried, to be taken up, and placed in a shrine decorated right royally

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. 18.      him a popular saint in England, and  
This visit of S. Germanus rendered      many churches were dedicated to him.



with gold and jewels, and a church of most beautiful workmanship was there erected, and a society of monks assembled.<sup>1</sup>

From the close of the Dioclesian persecution to the rise of the Arian heresy, the British Church had rest; and CHRIST'S disciples, after so long and wintry a night, beginning to behold the genial light of heaven, rebuilt the churches which had been overthrown, and founded and erected others which they dedicated to the holy martyrs,<sup>2</sup> everywhere displaying the banner of the faith as a token of their victory; and though we have no direct evidence of the extent to which this labour was carried, yet we hear now and then incidentally of churches, as not infrequent, as for instance, in the case of Germanus and Lupus, who when they came over (A.D. 429) to oppose the Pelagian heresy, preached, as we are expressly told, in churches as well as in the fields and highways.

It would be in vain to attempt a description of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglo-Roman period, not a single building originally designed for the services of the Christian church at that era still remaining in England, unless the

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to state that no portions of this or any preceding church remain at S. Alban's; the oldest existing portion is attributed to Paul de Caen, Abbot, from 1077 to 1093.

<sup>2</sup> The dedication of churches is a subject worthy of more attention than is usually bestowed upon it, on historic grounds. As applied to Welsh churches, it has been very fully discussed, and very satisfactorily applied, by Mr. Rice Rees, in his "Essay on the Welsh Saints, or the Primitive Christians usually considered to have been the founders of Churches in Wales." His arguments lead to the conclusion that churches dedicated to the Welsh saints, or rather still called by their name, are the most ancient, and range generally from A.D. 500 to 550; to those dedicated to S. Michael he assigns in general terms the period between 800 to 850, at about which

time the Britons began a more general conformity with the religious observances of the rest of the Western Church, and borrowed of course dedications, as well as other things, from them; and finally, to the twelfth century, or thereabouts, belong the churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the holy Apostles, the saints of the Roman calendar. These deductions are fortified by external evidence collected from general and ecclesiastical history, from the territorial distribution of the several churches, and their mutual relations. The question is of course historical rather than architectural, for the present fabric does not often go back even to the middle time indicated above: we shall not therefore pursue the question here, but we would not miss the opportunity of borrowing a hint from Mr. Rees' Essay, and of directing the general reader to its very instructive pages.



multangular tower at Dover called the Pharos, be an exception, and the only encouragement to call this a church, or part of a church, is that we know not what else it may have been.

But though so little is to be said of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Romans in England, there can be no doubt that a very considerable advance was made during the continuance of the Roman sway, in the churches erected by the earliest converts: for Tacitus tells us, that Agricola encouraged the British to cultivate building, with the other arts of peace; and when the Emperor Constantine rebuilt the city of Autun, about the end of the third century, he brought the workmen chiefly from Britain, which very much abounded with the best artificers; and it cannot be doubted, that the skill thus acquired and approved would be employed in the erection of their sacred edifices. Still we must confess that the authority of imperial Rome was brought to a close, without having *directly* added much to the history of our ecclesiastical architecture. The *indirect* influence of the Roman sway was, however, very great. It was under the Empire, that the British people first learned certain mechanical arts, which were afterwards employed in religious edifices; and if they had not been forced to assist in the erection of Verulam or Richborough, the churches of S. Alban's and of Canterbury might have been very different from what they are now. Even the use of mortar was, so far as we can discover, introduced by the Romans:<sup>1</sup> and the making of brick is certainly one of the arts which they left behind them. The latter affords an instance of the extensive secondary influence on architecture which a single invention may exert. At first sight it would appear that the introduction of brick would only be followed by the use of that material instead of stone;<sup>2</sup> but, in fact, it seems to have greatly influenced the decorative forms of the Saxon and Norman architects. The Roman bricks were of a very different form

<sup>1</sup> There are no traces of "the use of lime in a calcined state mixed with water and sand, or any other substance, so as to form an adhesive cement, by which stone could be joined to stone," in any relics of the aboriginal architecture of our island. See a paper on ancient mixed masonry of brick and

stone, by Mr. Bloxam, in No. IV. of the *Archæological Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> Roman stations were sometimes quarries, out of which Saxon and Norman architects collected materials, chiefly brick, for their churches. Brixworth, Colchester, and S. Alban's are among the most remarkable examples.



from that so long imposed on our bricks by the excise laws.<sup>1</sup> They were long, broad, and flat :<sup>2</sup> this shape was for a long time retained by the Saxon builders. Now, bricks of this form fall very naturally into what is called "herring-bone" masonry; and from this way of laying the materials, the zigzag—one of the most effective of the Norman decorations—seems to have taken its rise; while other ornaments, as the billet and serrated mouldings, and the various arrangements of masonry, by which large surfaces are sometimes relieved, are derived from brick in its native application to ornamental building.

A still less direct, but far more important, influence the Romans exercised by their treatment of the Christians. The persecutions inflicted by Pagan masters stirred up another class of feelings, attaching the brethren to their holy faith, and giving them martyrs, whose memorials employed the successive labours of Christian artists of all kinds, for many generations. The history of the Abbey of S. Alban,<sup>3</sup> which is, in fact, a *martyrium*, would be a fair epitome of the history of ecclesiastical art in England; and it is needless to say how much that church owes to the sword, which dismissed the soul of our protomartyr to a better kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> These and the window tax have had a very remarkable effect on our architecture, domestic, in the first instance, but, by consequence, ecclesiastical also, if we can be said to have had until lately, any ecclesiastical architecture, since the imposition of these taxes. The influence of both has been injurious, and sadly destructive of picturesque character in our buildings.

<sup>2</sup> They were not always of one size, but about  $16 \times 12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, was an ordinary shape and size.

<sup>3</sup> Since this passage was written, a very careful "History of the Architecture of the Abbey-church of S. Alban, with especial reference to the Norman structure," has been published by J. C. Buckler, and C. A. Buckler.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE MYTHICAL PERIOD.

DESERTION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS.—DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES BY THE BARBARIANS.—AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS RESTORES CHURCHES.—USE OF MYTHS AND LEGENDS AS AFFORDING MATERIALS FOR HISTORY.—MERLIN AND VORTIGERN.—BLOOD USED IN THE FOUNDATION OF BUILDINGS.—ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.—MERLIN AND AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS.—STONEHENGE.—THE TRIUMPH OF ART OVER STRENGTH.—KING ARTHUR RESTORES CHURCHES.—THE SPLENDOUR OF HIS CORONATION.

IN the year 430 the Romans left England, after having long afforded a doubtful defence against the repeated invasions of the Picts and Scots. The ravages of these barbarians extended over the greater part of the country which they were afterwards to colonize, and were as frequent as they were extensive. Gildas and Bede relate especially how the battle of Wippedsflède was followed by a furious irruption, which they compare with the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. Churches were burnt, and the priests slain upon the altars, and once again the words of the Psalmist were fulfilled, "They have set fire upon Thy holy places, and have defiled the dwelling place of Thy name, even to the ground; thus have they burnt up all the houses of God in the land."<sup>1</sup> Gildas proceeds: "All the columns were levelled with the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers, tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies, covered with livid clots of coagulated blood."<sup>2</sup>

There were, however, many fluctuations in the fortunes of war, and wherever the British succeeded in driving the barba-

<sup>1</sup> Psalm lxxiv. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas, 24.



rians away from any district, there they probably restored the churches. In particular we are told that Ambrosius Aurelianus, a native of this island, but of imperial extraction, having been chosen to lead the Britons, achieved a great victory over the Saxons, who had been called in by Vortigern to assist in repelling the Picts and Scots, and became in their turn formidable enemies, at Bannesdown, (A.D. 489) near Bath, and afterwards, by his influence, the churches were generally restored, and Divine worship was brought back to its former decent solemnity.

From the utter disproportion between events and records in times of imperfect civilization, and frequent revolutions, when battles were numerous and historians few, this is far more than the ages which preceded or followed it, an age of myths and legends; and few names are more connected with legendary lore than that of Ambrosius Aurelianus. I have already, in speaking of King Lucius, and of the martyrdom of S. Alban, mentioned part of the grounds on which the legendary stories of such times, in the very form in which they were first told and believed, are among the materials of the philosophy of history; and I will now add, as an introduction to the wildest stories of the kind that I shall have to relate, that they convey a truth, or a fact in the way of allegory, of which perhaps we find no other contemporary recognition. And even if, perchance, we should in any instance find a meaning, true in itself, but not intended by the relaters of the legend, we should be like the student in the introduction to *Gil Blas*, who found the soul of the licentiate Peter Garcias in the form of a well filled purse, accompanied with a warning to make a better use of it than Peter himself had made.

The history of Merlin, in the fifth century, is but a record of *the triumph of art over brute force*, in which it is exactly parallel with that of Dunstan in the tenth century; the one having received a monkish, the other a bardic dress: and we may add that the very existence of Stonehenge and the like structures, in the absence of all authentic history of their erection, would enforce the belief that great mechanical skill was applied by the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles, whether Pagan, Druidical, or Christian, in the erection of their temples.

The story of Merlin, as related by Geoffry of Monmouth, whose history is given in the form of a communication by word



of mouth, to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in the twelfth century, is first introduced in connection with Vortigern, a British prince, on whom rests the stigma of having first called in the Saxons to repel the invasions of the Picts, (A.D. 447). This policy had its usual fatal effect, and Vortigern, a prisoner to the Saxons, purchased his liberty at the expense of his country, and retired in despair to the mountains of Wales. His magicians advised him to build a strong tower for his own safety, since he had lost all his fortified places. Accordingly he made a progress about the country, to find out a convenient situation, and came at last to Mount Erir, where he assembled workmen from several countries, and ordered them to build a tower. The builders began to lay the foundation, but whatever they did one day the earth swallowed up the next. Vortigern being informed of this, again consulted with his magicians, who told him that he must find a youth that never had a father, and kill him, and then sprinkle the stones and cement with his blood;<sup>1</sup> for by those means, they said, he would have a firm foundation.

We pass over the accident and its results by which Vortigern became acquainted with the birth of Merlin, whose mother, daughter of the king of Demetia, and a nun in S. Peter's Church, protested that none but an incubus had been the father of the child; and the rest of the story we give almost wholly in the words of Geoffry. While the examination proceeded which led to this announcement,

"Merlin was attentive to all that had passed, and then approached the king and said to him, 'For what reason am I and my mother introduced into your presence?' 'My magicians,' answered Vortigern, 'advised me to seek out a man that had no father, with whose blood my building is to be sprinkled, in order to make it stand.' 'Order your magicians,' said Merlin, 'to come before me, and I will convict them of a lie.' The king was surprised at his words, and presently ordered the magicians to come, and sit down before Merlin, who spoke to them after this manner: 'Because you are ignorant what it is that hinders the foundation of the tower,

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be an ancient superstition among the British. Fitzstephen in his description of London, says that the town was built with mortar tempered with the blood of beasts. *Habet ab oriente arcem Palatinam, maximam et fortissimam, cujus et area et muri a*

*fundamento profundissimo exurgunt; cæmento cum sanguine animalium temperato.* The writer evidently attributes the strength of the citadel as much to the blood as to the depth of the foundation.



you have recommended the shedding of my blood for cement to it, as if that would presently make it stand. But tell me now, what is there under the foundation? for something there is that will not suffer it to stand.' The magicians at this began to be afraid, and made him no answer. Then said Merlin, who was also called Ambrose,<sup>1</sup> 'I entreat your majesty would command your workmen to dig into the ground, and you will find a pond which causes the foundation to sink.' This accordingly was done. Merlin after this went again to the magicians, and said, 'Tell me, ye false sycophants, what is there under the pond?' But they were silent. Then said he again to the king, 'Command the pond to be drained, and at the bottom you will see two hollow stones, and in them two dragons asleep.' The king made no scruple of believing him, since he had found true what he had said of the pond, and therefore ordered it to be drained, which done, he found as Merlin had said, and now was possessed of the greatest admiration of him. Nor were the rest that were present less amazed, thinking it to be no less than Divine inspiration."

The historian had got thus far in his relation, when Alexander,<sup>2</sup> who was one of the most munificent prelates and greatest architects of the age, struck probably with the practical lesson thus quaintly conveyed of the necessity of looking well to the foundation, if one would raise a worthy superstructure, engaged him in a digression on the prophecies of Merlin. But we will leave Alexander to speculate on the meaning of more remote prophecies, and return to Geoffry's relation of the warning which he gave Vortigern of his end, and how it came to pass accordingly.

"Vortigern, being curious to learn his own fate, desired the young man to tell him what he knew concerning that particular. Merlin answered, 'Fly the fire of the sons of Constantine, if you are able to do it: already are they fitting out their ships; already are they leaving the Armorican shore; already are they spreading out their sails to the wind. Two deaths instantly threaten you; nor is it easy to determine which you can best avoid.

<sup>1</sup> He is so called by Nennius throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, was nephew of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, a prelate not less magnificent in his carriage than Alexander himself, nor a less industrious architect; but unfortunately for himself and his family he built castles instead of churches. Alexander applied the skill which he had acquired in the household of his

pugnacious uncle, to better purpose; for the Cathedral of Lincoln, being destroyed by fire during his episcopate, he restored it at his own charges, to more than its former magnificence. Such persons could take more than a passing interest in the legendary history of Merlin. We shall have a future opportunity of speaking of Roger and Alexander.



On the one hand the Saxons shall lay waste your country, and endeavour to kill you: on the other shall arrive the two brothers, Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, who shall revenge their father's murder upon you. Seek some refuge if you can: to-morrow they will be on the shore of Totness. The faces of the Saxons shall look red with blood, Hengist shall be killed, and Aurelius Ambrosius shall be crowned. He shall bring peace to the nation: *he shall restore the churches.*' Accordingly the next day early, arrived Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother, with ten thousand men."

I shall not relate how Ambrosius was crowned, or how he and his host beleaguered Vortigern in his strong tower. But Geoffry again shall tell how—

"they set their engines to work, and laboured to beat down the walls. But at last, when all attempts failed, they had recourse to fire, which meeting with proper fuel, ceased not to rage till it had burnt down the tower and Vortigern in it.

"The enemies being now entirely reduced, the king summoned the consuls and princes of the kingdom together at York, where *he gave orders for the restoration of the churches* which the Saxons had destroyed. He himself *undertook the rebuilding of the metropolitan church of that city*, as also the *other cathedral churches* in that province. After fifteen days, when he had settled workmen in several places, he went to London, which city had not escaped the fury of the enemy. He beheld with great sorrow the destruction made in it, and recalled the remainder of the citizens from all parts, and began the restoration of it. Here he settled the affairs of the whole kingdom, revived the laws, restored the right heirs to the possessions of their ancestors; and those estates, whereof the heirs had been lost in the late grievous calamity, he distributed among his fellow soldiers. In these important concerns of restoring the nation to its ancient state, *repairing the churches*, re-establishing peace and law, and settling the administration of justice, was his time wholly employed. From hence he went to Winchester, to repair the ruins of it, as he did of other cities; and when the work was finished there, he went, at the instance of Bishop Eldad, to *the monastery near Kaercaradoc*, now *Salisbury*, where the consuls and princes, whom the wicked Hengist had treacherously murdered, lay buried. *At this place was a convent* that maintained three hundred friars, situated on the mountain of Ambrius, who, as is reported, had been the founder of it. The sight of the place where the dead lay, made the king, who was of a compassionate temper, shed tears, and at last enter upon thoughts, *what kind of monument to erect upon it*. For he thought something ought to be done to perpetuate the memory of that piece of ground, which was honoured with the bodies of so many noble patriots, that died for their country.

"For this purpose *he summoned together several carpenters and masons,*



and commanded them to employ the utmost of their art, *in contriving some new structure*, for a lasting monument to those great men. But they, in diffidence of their own skill, refusing to undertake it, Tremounus, Archbishop of the City of Legions, went to the king, and said, ‘If any one living is able to execute your commands, Merlin, the prophet of Vortigern, is the man. In my opinion there is not in all your kingdom a person of a brighter genius, either in predicting future events, or *in mechanical contrivances*. Order him to come to you, and exercise his skill in the work which you design.’ Whereupon Aurelius, after he had asked a great many questions concerning him, despatched several messengers into the countries to find him out, and bring him to him. As soon as they had delivered their message, they conducted him to the king, who received him with joy, and, being curious to hear some of his wonderful speeches, commanded him to prophesy. Merlin made answer, ‘Mysteries of this kind are not to be revealed but when there is the greatest necessity for it. If I should pretend to utter them either for ostentation or diversion, the spirit that instructs me would be silent, and would leave me when I should have occasion for it.’ When he had made the same refusal to all the rest present, the king would not urge him any longer about his predictions, but spoke to him *concerning the monument which he designed*. ‘If you are desirous,’ said Merlin, ‘to honour the burying-place of these men with an everlasting monument, send for the Giant’s Dance, which is in Killaraus, a mountain in Ireland. For *there is a structure of stones there, which none of this age could raise, without a profound knowledge of the mechanical arts*. They are stones of a vast magnitude and wonderful quality; and if they can be placed here as they are there, round this spot of ground, they will stay there for ever.’

“At these words of Merlin, Aurelius burst into laughter, and said, ‘How is it possible to remove such vast stones from so distant a country, as if Britain was not furnished with stones fit for the work?’ Merlin replied, ‘I entreat your majesty to forbear vain laughter, for what I say is without vanity. They are mystical stones, and of a medicinal virtue. The giants of old brought them from the farthest coasts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland, while they inhabited that country. Their design in this was to make baths in them, when they should be taken with any illness. For their method was to wash the stones, and put their sick into the water, which infallibly cured them. With the like success they cured wounds also, adding only the application of some herbs. There is not a stone there which has not some healing virtue.’ When the Britons heard this, they resolved to send for the stones, and to make war upon the people of Ireland if they should offer to detain them. And to accomplish this business, they made choice of Uther Pendragon, who was to be attended with fifteen thousand men. They chose also Merlin himself, by whose direction the whole affair was to be managed. A fleet being therefore got ready, they set sail, and with a fair wind arrived in Ireland.

“At that time Gillomanus, a youth of wonderful valour, reigned in



Ireland; who, upon the news of the arrival of the Britons in his kingdom, levied a vast army, and marched out against them. And when he had learned the occasion of their coming, he smiled, and said to those about him, 'No wonder a cowardly race of people were able to make so great devastation in the island of Britain, when the Britons are such brutes and fools. Was ever the like folly heard of? What are the stones of Ireland better than those of Britain, that our kingdom must be put to this disturbance for them? To arms, soldiers, and defend your country; while I have life they shall not take from us the least stone of the Giant's Dance.' Uther, seeing them prepared for a battle, attacked them; nor was it long ere the Britons had the advantage, who, having dispersed and killed the Irish, forced Gillomanus to flee. After the victory they went to the mountain Killaraus, and *arrived at the structure of stones, the sight of which filled them both with joy and admiration.* And while they were standing round them, Merlin came up to them, and said, 'Now *try your forces, young men, and see whether strength or art can do the most towards taking down these stones.*' At this word they all set to *their engines* with one accord, and attempted the removing of the Giant's Dance. Some prepared *cables*, others small ropes, others *ladders* for the work, but all to no purpose. Merlin laughed at their vain efforts, and then began *his own contrivances.* When he had placed in order *the engines that were necessary, he took down the stones with incredible facility,* and gave directions for carrying them to the ships, and placing them therein. This done, they with joy set sail again to return to Britain, where they arrived with a fair gale, and repaired to the burying place with the stones. When Aurelius had notice of it, he sent messengers to all parts of Britain, to summon the Clergy and people together to the mount of Ambrius, in order to celebrate with joy and honour the *erection of the monument.* Upon this summons appeared the bishops, abbots, and people of all other orders and qualities; and upon the day and place appointed for their general meeting, Aurelius placed the crown upon his head, and with royal pomp celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the solemnity whereof he continued the three following days. In the meantime, all places of honour that were vacant, he bestowed upon his domestics, as rewards for their good services. At that time the two metropolitan sees of York and Legions were vacant; and with the general consent of the people, whom he was willing to please in his choice, he granted York to Sanxo, a man of great quality, and much celebrated for his piety; and the City of Legions to Dubricius, whom Divine Providence had pointed out as a most useful pastor in that place. As soon as he had settled these and other affairs in the kingdom, he *ordered Merlin to set up the stones brought over from Ireland, about the sepulchre; which he accordingly did, and placed them in the same manner as they had been in the mountain Killaraus, and thereby gave a MANIFEST PROOF OF THE PREVALENCE OF ART ABOVE STRENGTH.*"\*

\* Geoffry of Monmouth, viii. 9, 10, 11, 12.



It is quite unnecessary to add, that Geoffry of Monmouth is not adduced as giving a true account of the date or manner of the erection of Stonehenge. He is, however, the first person whose extant works give any account of that remarkable triumph of *art over strength*, and he professes to have translated his account from a Welsh MS. of still more remote antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Nor is his account at all less probable than any other that has been proposed; and perhaps, allowing for the fabulous adjuncts of the story, it may after all be the true one. At all events, the barrows which accompany the stones, fortify the assertion of Geoffry that the edifice was a memorial of the dead. The real purpose which such relations serve, is to show the effect on the less skilful crowd of the application of mechanical powers to purposes which were before effected only by the united strength of many. Nor are we even yet exempt from the wonder which some modern Merlin excites by the use of a new and hitherto unheard-of machine effecting by a kind of magic what would have appeared before impossible.

We have already alluded to King Arthur, as the flower and example of British chivalry. He is one of the principal mythical personages of this era, and he was not, according to the just view of the character which he represents, deficient in his care for the services and buildings of the Church.

“The King, after his general pardon to the Scots, went to York to celebrate the feast of CHRIST’S Nativity, which was now at hand. On entering the city, he *beheld with grief the desolation of churches*; for upon the expulsion of the holy Archbishop Sanxo, and of all the Clergy there, the *temples which were half burnt down*, had no longer Divine Service performed in them, so much had the impious rage of the pagans prevailed. After this, in an assembly of the Clergy and people, he appointed Pyramus his chaplain metropolitan of that see. *The churches that lay level with the ground, he rebuilt*, and (which was their chief ornament,) saw them filled with assemblies of devout persons of both sexes.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To speak more correctly, the original of the work of Geoffry of Monmouth was an Armorican chronicle, brought into Wales from Brittany by Walter de Masses, in the twelfth century; but the substance of several of the legends was known in Wales before

his time, as appears from the work of Nennius, which agrees with Geoffry, among other things, in much that is related in this Chapter. See Mr. Rice Rees’ Essay on the Welsh Saints, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffry of Monmouth, xix. 8.



The conduct of many a noble knight in after ages, showed that the duty thus supposed to be fulfilled by Arthur, was recognized by those who followed him in all chivalrous exercises.

The coronation of Arthur is related with as many circumstances connected with our subject, as we should collect with great labour from other sources, which have none of the sobriety of truth.

“ Upon the approach of the feast of Pentecost, Arthur, the better to demonstrate his joy after such triumphant success, and for the more solemn observation of that festival, and reconciling the minds of the princes that were now subject to him, resolved, during that season, to hold a magnificent court, to place the crown upon his head, and to invite all the kings and dukes under his subjection, to the solemnity. And when he had communicated his design to his familiar friends, he pitched upon the City of Legions as a proper place for this purpose. For besides its great wealth above the other cities, its situation—which was in Glamorganshire, upon the river Usk, near the Severn sea,—was most pleasant and fit for so great a solemnity. For on one side it was washed by that noble river, so that the kings and princes from the countries beyond the seas might have the convenience of sailing up to it. On the other side, the beauty of the meadows and groves, and magnificence of the royal palaces with lofty *gilded roofs*<sup>1</sup> that adorned it, made it even rival the grandeur of Rome. *It was also famous for two churches*,—whereof one was built in honour of the martyr Julius, and adorned with a choir of virgins, who had devoted themselves wholly to the service of GOD; but the other which was founded in memory of S. Aaron,<sup>2</sup> his companion, and maintained a convent of canons, was the third metropolitan church of Britain. Besides, there was a college of two hundred philosophers, who, being learned in astronomy and the other arts, were diligent in observing the courses of the stars; and gave Arthur true predictions of the events that would happen at that time. In this place, therefore, which afforded such delights, were preparations made for the ensuing festival.”

“ When all were assembled together in the city, upon the day of the solemnity, the Archbishops were conducted to the palace, in order to place the crown upon the king’s head. Therefore Dubricius, inasmuch as the court was kept in his diocese, made himself ready to celebrate the office, and undertook the ordering of whatever related to it. *As soon as the king was invested with his royal habiliments, he was conducted in great pomp to the metropolitan church*, supported on each side by two Archbishops, and having four kings, viz., of Albania, Cornwall, Demetia, and Venedotia,

<sup>1</sup> We shall find gilded roofs mentioned on a future occasion.

<sup>2</sup> SS. Julius and Aaron had suffered

martyrdom during the Dioclesian persecution.



whose right it was, bearing four golden swords before him. He was also attended with *a concert of all sorts of music*, which made most excellent harmony. On another part was the queen, dressed out in her richest ornaments, conducted by the Archbishops and Bishops to the Temple of Virgins; the four queens also of the kings last mentioned, bearing before her four white doves according to ancient custom; and after her there followed a retinue of women, making all imaginable demonstrations of joy. When the whole procession was ended, so transporting was the harmony of the *musical instruments* and voices, *whereof there was a great variety in both churches*, that the knights who attended were in doubt which to prefer, and therefore crowded from the one to the other by turns, and were far from being tired with the solemnity, though the whole day had been spent in it. At last, *when Divine service was over at both churches*, the king and queen put off their crowns, and putting on their lighter ornaments, went to the banquet; he to one palace with the men, and she to another with the women. For the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy, by which the men and women used to celebrate their festivals apart. When they had all taken their seats according to precedence, Caius the server, in rich robes of ermine, with a thousand young noblemen, all in like manner clothed with ermine, served up the dishes. From another part, Bedver, the butler, was followed with the same number of attendants, in various habits, who waited with all kinds of cups and drinking vessels. In the queen's palace were innumerable waiters, dressed with variety of ornaments, all performing their respective offices; which if I should describe particularly, I should draw out the history to a tedious length. *For at that time Britain had arrived at such a pitch of grandeur, that in abundance of riches, luxury of ornaments, and politeness of inhabitants, it far surpassed all other kingdoms.* The knights in it that were famous for feats of chivalry, wore their clothes and arms all of the same colour and fashion; and the women also no less celebrated for their wit, wore all the same kind of apparel, and esteemed none worthy of their love, but such as had given a proof of their valour in three several battles. Thus was the valour of the men an encouragement for the women's chastity, and the love of the women a spur to the soldiers' bravery.

“As soon as the banquets were over, they went into the fields without the city, to divert themselves with various sports. The military men composed a kind of diversion in imitation of a fight on horseback; and the ladies, placed on the top of the walls as spectators, in a sportive manner darted their amorous glances at the courtiers, the more to encourage them. Others spent the remainder of the day in other diversions, such as shooting with bows and arrows, tossing the pike, casting of heavy stones and rocks, playing at dice and the like, and all these inoffensively and without quarrelling. Whoever gained the victory in any of these sports, was rewarded with a rich prize by Arthur. In this manner were the first three days spent; and on the fourth, all who, upon account of their titles, bore any kind of office at this solemnity, were called together to receive



honours and preferments in reward of their services, and to fill up the vacancies in the governments of cities and castles, archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and other posts of honour."<sup>1</sup>

If we have given too much importance to such legendary lore, (which, however, those who are willing to accept the fable for the truth which it shadows forth will scarcely assert,) let it be remembered that it has afforded us a chapter on times which graver history handles most unsatisfactorily. The events of the next page, under the touch of the venerable Bede, who treats them with exceeding love for his high subject, and with reverential regard for truth, are fruitful in the subjects of our study, and as worthy to be classed with the materials of undoubted history as those of any succeeding period.

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, ix. 12, 13, 14. The quotations are all made from Dr. Giles's translation.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE SAXON PERIOD.

*From the coming of Augustine to the birth of Dunstan.*

ARRIVAL OF AUGUSTINE, AND HIS ESTABLISHMENT AT CANTERBURY.—HE RECONCILES HEATHEN TEMPLES, AND FOUNDS A MONASTERY AND THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.—MISSION OF PAULINUS TO NORTHUMBRIA. A BAPTISTERY OF WOOD ERECTED AT YORK, AND AFTERWARDS SURROUNDED WITH A STONE CHURCH.—OTHER CHURCHES ERECTED BY PAULINUS, ESPECIALLY AT CAMPODONUM, AND LINCOLN.—COLUMBA AND IONA. — OSWALD AND LINDISFARNE; FINAN'S CATHEDRAL THERE. — CEDD AND LASTINGHAM.—CUTHBERT AND FARNE. — MR. PETRIE ON THE ORIGIN AND USES OF ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND. — OTHER MONASTERIES AND THEIR FOUNDERS. — BENEDICT BISCOP, AND WEARMOUTH AND JARROW. — OF BUILDING MORE ROMANO.—WILFRID AND HEXHAM, FROM EDDIUS, AND RICHARD OF HEXHAM.

WHEN Augustine came to Britain in 597, he found traces indeed of a British race, and of a Christian people; but the churches were few, and the worshippers in proportion still fewer, and all decent pomp had departed from the service of the remnant that remained.

Ethelbert, however, King of Kent, though himself, together with his subjects, a heathen, was not wholly unprepared to receive the missionary with favour, for he had a Christian wife of the royal family of the Franks, called Bertha; whom he had received from her parents, upon condition that she should be permitted to practise her religion with the Bishop Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith.

“Some days after the arrival of Augustine, the King came into the island, and sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came furnished with Divine, not



with magic virtue, *bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our LORD and SAVIOUR painted on a board*;<sup>1</sup> and *singing the litany*, they offered up their prayers to the LORD for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were come. Ethelbert received them favourably, and permitted them to reside in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and did not refuse them liberty to preach. It is reported that, as they drew near to the city, *after their manner, with the holy cross, and the image of our sovereign Lord and King, JESUS CHRIST, they in concert sang this litany*.<sup>2</sup> ‘We beseech Thee, O LORD, in all Thy mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house, because we have sinned. Hallelujah.

“As soon as they entered the dwelling-place assigned them, they began to imitate the course of life practised in the primitive Church; applying themselves to frequent prayer, watching and fasting; preaching the word of life to as many as they could; despising all worldly things, as not belonging to them; receiving only their necessary food from those they taught, living themselves in all respects conformably to what they prescribed to others, and being always disposed to suffer any adversity, and even to die for that truth which they preached. In short, several believed and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their innocent life, and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine. *There was on the east side of the city, a church dedicated to the honour of S. Martin, built whilst the Romans were still in the island*,<sup>3</sup> wherein the queen, who as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray. In this they first began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize, till the king, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach openly, *and build or repair churches in all places*.”<sup>4</sup>

Gregory, by whom Augustine had been sent to Britain, was not unmindful of the Saxon Church, now that it was committed to the care of a missionary Bishop, but hearing from Augustine, that he had a great harvest, and but few labourers, sent to him several fellow-labourers, of whom the first and principal were

<sup>1</sup> *Imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam.* Just such, I presume, were the pictures brought by Benedict Biscop from Rome: and as those mentioned above were used in a procession without doors, they were probably painted with oil. To this subject we shall recur in a future chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *More suo cum cruce sancta, et imagine magni Regis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, hanc lætaniam consona voce modularentur.*

<sup>3</sup> *Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem, ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent.*

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. 25, 26. I may state, once for all, that I have generally used Dr. Giles's translation of Bede, as before of Gildas and of Geoffry of Monmouth: but where architectural or ecclesiological questions are involved, I have transcribed the original in the notes.



Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, and by them *all things in general that were necessary for the worship and service of the Church*, viz. *sacred vessels and vestments for the altars, also ornaments for the churches, and vestments for the priests and clerks*, as likewise *relics of the holy apostles and martyrs*;<sup>1</sup> besides *many books*. He also sent letters, wherein he signified that he had transmitted *the pall* to him, and at the same time directed how he should constitute bishops in Britain.<sup>2</sup> Gregory also advised that *the heathen temples should be converted into churches*, which is the last instance of such a conversion that we shall have to note. Writing to Mellitus, he says, "When Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, determined upon, viz. that *the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed: let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected, and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God*. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, *some solemnity must be exchanged for them on this account; as that on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs, whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples*,<sup>3</sup> and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for

<sup>1</sup> Per eos generaliter universa quæ ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiæ necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra, et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, i. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur: aqua bene-

dicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur; quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequio veri Dei commutari . . . . . die dedicationis, vel natalitii S. Martyrum quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula, sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviiis sollemnitate celebrent.



their sustenance ; to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God.”<sup>1</sup> Still prosecuting his labours, S. Augustine having his episcopal see granted him in the royal city, and being supported by the king, *recovered therein a church, which he was informed had been built by the ancient Roman Christians, and consecrated it in the name of our holy SAVIOUR, GOD and LORD JESUS CHRIST, and there established a residence for himself and his successors.* He also built a *monastery* not far from the city to the eastward, in which, by his advice, Ethelbert erected from the foundation the church of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and enriched it with several donations ; wherein the bodies of the same Augustine, and of all the bishops of Canterbury, and of the kings of Kent, might be buried. However, Augustine himself did not consecrate that church, but Laurentius, his successor.<sup>2</sup>

After having ordained Justus and Mellitus to the sees of London and Rochester, in both which places Ethelbert built churches, the one dedicated to S. Paul, the other to S. Andrew, Augustine died, and his body was deposited without, close by the church of the apostles, Peter and Paul, above spoken of, by reason that the same was not yet finished, nor consecrated, but as soon as it was dedicated, the body was brought in, and decently buried in the north porch thereof ; wherein also were interred the bodies of all the succeeding archbishops, except two only, Theodosius and Berthwald, whose bodies are within that church, because the aforesaid porch could contain no more.<sup>3</sup>

In this narrative there is much to our present purpose. We have the fact of the existence of S. Martin’s Church, erected in the Roman period ; the same, doubtless, with that referred to King Lucius : we have the use of pictures, crosses, and processions, and a character of devotion tending to a noble

<sup>1</sup> Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Recuperavit in ea ecclesiam quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam nomine Sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sacravit, atque ibidem sibi habitationem statuit, et cunctis successoribus suis. Fecit

autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa civitate ad orientem, in quo, ejus hortatu, Ædilberct ecclesiam B. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli a fundamentis construxit, ac diversis donis ditavit. I. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, ii. 3.



ceremonial; all which would lead to the erection of religious edifices in harmony with their form and spirit. We have the rule recognised by which heathen temples, and by parity of reasoning all secular buildings, which might serve this purpose, were converted into Christian churches; and we have the mention of feasts of dedication, memorials of the sacred destination of the work of the artificer, from which his labour and his skill cannot be dissociated without grievous loss. We have moreover the introduction of cœnobitic establishments, which very greatly modified the religious architecture of future ages; and, last not least, we have the origin of the pre-eminence of Canterbury in all ecclesiastical matters, which rendered it ever after the great centre from which all that was to inform the spirit, or alter the external development of the Church's system, must radiate. S. Martin's first, and then the monastery founded by S. Augustine, and in which he was buried, and at length the cathedral, to which the bones of the first Archbishop were eventually carried, are successively objects of interest to the archæologist, as well as to the general historian, or the Christian student.

Ethelbert died in 616, and was buried in S. Martin's porch, in the church of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, where Bertha also, his queen, reposes. His son Eadbald was a most unworthy successor to so pious a king, and the Bishops Mellitus and Justus were driven from their sees, by the heavy discouragements which his wickedness brought on the Church. Laurentius, however, remained to lay his bones by those of his predecessor (Feb. 2, A.D. 619) and Mellitus, who had returned to his church, was his successor. Bede relates how the cathedral was saved by his prayers when the city was destroyed by fire, which raged most around the church of the four crowned martyrs. He also died, and was buried beside Augustine and Laurentius, (A.D. 624) each successive Bishop adding to the glories of the metropolitan church by his virtues.

But we must leave the southern provinces for a while, and accompany Paulinus on his mission to Edwin, king of Northumbria, which was attended with consequences affording scarcely less interesting subjects of history than the mission of S. Augustine to England. Like Ethelbert, Edwin king of



Northumbria had married a Christian princess, who was the instrument, in the hands of Providence, in preparing the way for the Gospel. The Christian lady was sent only on condition that she might follow the faith of her father with all her retinue; and Paulinus was consecrated to accompany her, (July 21, A.D. 625). The good Bishop was intent on higher espousals than those of Edwin and Edilburga. He was earnestly bent on espousing the nation to which he was sent to one husband, that he might present her as a chaste virgin to CHRIST. After many incidents, which, interesting as they are, we must pass over as not bearing directly on our subject, King Edwin held a council, at which Coifi, the chief of the heathen priests, was the first to recommend that the idols and the temples should be destroyed. Nor was he slow to perform what he had proposed. Having girt a sword about him, with a spear in his hand, he mounted the king's horse,<sup>1</sup> and proceeded to the idols. The multitude beholding it concluded he was distracted; but he lost no time, for as soon as he drew near the temple, he profaned it, casting into it the spear which he held; and rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy the temple, with all its enclosures, by fire. "This place (says Bede) where the idols were, is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham, where the high-priest, by the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had himself consecrated.

"King Edwin, therefore, with all the nobility of the nation, and a large number of the common sort, received the faith and the washing of regeneration, in the eleventh year of his reign, which is the year of the Incarnation of our LORD 627, and about one hundred and eighty after the coming of the English into Britain. *He was baptized at York, on the holy day of Easter, being the 12th of April, in the church of S. Peter the Apostle, which he himself had built of timber,* whilst he was being catechised and instructed in order to receive baptism. In that city also he appointed the see of his instructor Paulinus, and began to build after his directions in the same place *a larger*

<sup>1</sup> *Equum emissarium*; non enim licuerat pontificem præter in equa equitare.



*and nobler church of stone, in the midst whereof that same oratory which he had first erected should be enclosed.* Having, therefore, laid the foundation, he began to build the church square, encompassing the former oratory. But before the wall was raised to the proper height, the wicked assassination of the king left that work to be finished by Oswald his successor.”<sup>1</sup>

As for Paulinus, he continued for six years,—to the end, that is, of the reign of Edwin,—preaching the word of God, under the protection and countenance of the king, and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed and were baptized, among whom were Osfrid and Eadfrid, sons of King Edwin, whom Quoenburga daughter of Cearli, king of Mercia, had born him in her exile; and afterwards his other children by Edilburga the queen, Ædilhun, and his daughter Ædilthryd, and another son named Vuscfrea, the former two of whom, dying in the white garments of their baptism, were buried in the church at York.

In the province of the Deiri also, where he was wont often to be with the king, Paulinus baptized in the river Swale, which runs by the village Cataract;<sup>2</sup> for as yet oratories, or fonts, could not be made in the early infancy of the Church in those parts. But he built a church in Campodonum,<sup>3</sup> which afterwards the pagans, by whom King Edwin was slain, burnt, together with all the town. In the place of which the later kings built themselves a country-seat in the country called Loidis.<sup>4</sup> But *the altar, being of stone*, escaped the fire, and is still preserved in the monastery of the most reverend abbot and priest, Thridwulf, which is in Elmete wood.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mox autem ut baptismum consecutus est, curavit, docente eodem Paulino, majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cujus medio ipsum quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur. Præparatis ergo fundamentis *in gyro* prioris oratorii *per quadratum* cæpit edificare basilicam.

<sup>2</sup> Now Catterick.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps West Tanfield, a place still of great interest for the ecclesiologist.

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, in the neighbourhood of which is Elmete Wood.

<sup>5</sup> “Baptizabat in fluvio Sualua, qui vicum Cataractam præterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi Ecclesiæ poterant ædificari. Attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani a quibus Æduini rex occisus, cum tota eadem villa succenderunt: pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi villam



In Lincolnshire also the persuasive voice of Paulinus was heard.<sup>1</sup> He first converted the governor of the city of Lincoln, whose name was Blecca, with his whole family. He likewise *built, in that city, a stone church of beautiful workmanship; the roof of which having either fallen through age, or been thrown down by enemies, the walls are still to be seen standing.*<sup>2</sup>

We know no better way to give interest to a narrative, which has a natural tendency to become little more than a catalogue of churches and their builders, than the selection of some two or three of the most eminent founders and builders of churches and monasteries, and the mention of their deeds, to the comparative exclusion of others. Among such persons the first place is due to S. COLUMBA. He was born of a noble family among the Scots, as a part of the inhabitants of Ireland were then called, about the year 522. After having founded a monastery in his native island, he came over with the spirit of a missionary to the neighbouring shores, and soon produced a great effect on the heathens whom he visited. The island of Hye or Iona was given to him by Bridius, king of the Picts. The present was one which none but a missionary would have accepted. Iona is a barren rock in the midst of a tempestuous sea, surrounded everywhere by vast and dangerous reefs of basalt, which extend probably beneath the bosom of the waves, from the Giant's Causeway, one of the most marvellous scenes in the native land

in regione quæ vocatur Loidis. Evasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat: et servatur adhuc in monasterio reverentissimi abbatis et presbyteri Thryduulfi, quod est in silva Elmete."

<sup>1</sup> A description of the person of so great a missionary as Paulinus must be interesting. Bede tells us that "A certain abbot and priest of the monastery of Peartaneu, a man of singular veracity, whose name was Deda, told me that one of the oldest persons had informed him, that he himself had been baptized at noon-day, by the Bishop Paulinus, in the presence of King Edwin, with a great number of

the people, in the river Trent, near the city, which in the English tongue is called Tiovulfingacestir; and he was also wont to describe the person of the same Paulinus, that he was tall of stature, a little stooping, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic. He had also with him in the ministry, James, the deacon, a man of zeal and great fame in CHRIST'S Church, who lived even to our days." This James we shall find again in our history engaged in teaching Church music. Bede, Ec. Hist. ii. 16.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Bede.



of the Saint. Fingal's cave, in the Isle of Staffa, within sight of Iona, is perhaps the most splendid natural object within the British isles—lifting its cathedral-like roof upon giant columns, it mocks the attempts of greater architects than Columba to approach its vast magnificence. But Iona, poor and rugged, with little natural beauty, and absolutely wanting in the majestic features of its neighbour isles, soon became morally and religiously a spectacle as glorious as any that Christendom could afford ; and to this day it has memorials of its past importance not to be surpassed in historic interest by the mighty piles of York and Durham, or the halls of Oxford or of Cambridge. This little barren spot became the school of whatever knowledge sacred or profane, was then within the reach of the northern people ; the nursery of many arts, the centre of a Christian colony, and the mother of priests and missionaries. S. Columba himself received the name of Columbkil from the number of oratories or cells that he founded :<sup>1</sup> each one, doubtless, in size and architectural pretensions such as we should now scarcely class with the hovels of our peasantry ; yet such as his disciples converted, by their pious offices, into gates of paradise ; while a simple and affectionate people loved and admired their inhabitants, and all the visible tokens of their presence, and pledges of their continuance among them. Even as it now exists after the additions of many centuries in more advanced styles of art, the ruins of Iona do not afford traces of any great magnificence : but it is otherwise with many of its daughters, in a less barren country. The most important of these is the religious establishment at Lindisfarne, which yields to none in the interest of its origin, and in the importance of its influence on the church of Northumbria, and to few in the splendour of its architecture.

OSWALD, saint, king, and martyr, was the second son of Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, and with his mother Acca, and his two brothers, was brought up in the Christian faith by Donald III. of Scotland, in whose court they found an asylum from the violence of their uncle the usurper Edwin. Oswald

<sup>1</sup> “ Qui videlicet Columba nunc a nonnullis composito a Cella et Columba nomine Columcelli vocatur.”



alone retained the faith, though secretly for a while, and to it he owed his crown, after both his brothers had been cut off. Cedwell, king of Cumbria, had ravaged Northumbria, and nearly brought it into subjection, when Oswald, raising the cross as a banner,<sup>1</sup> and having first prayed to the LORD of hosts, led his little army to the battle, and obtained a complete victory.

However desirous Oswald might be of founding a church in his dominions, he could not effect his pious purpose without the aid of a consecrated missionary; and Aidan and Finan were successively sent from Iona to his court. Aidan selected Lindisfarne as the site of a religious establishment, which Finan enriched with a church, which became the cathedral church of his diocese. Notwithstanding, however, the use of stone in building, which we have already noted, this church was erected after the manner of the Scots, of split wood, and was covered with reed-thatch. But Eadberct, bishop of the same see, removed the reeds, and covered it entirely with sheets of lead.<sup>2</sup>

To this age and district belong the four illustrious brothers CEDD and CYNEBIL, CELIN and CEADDA or CHADD, two of whom came to be bishops. The account which Bede gives of the foundation of Lastingham by the first of these, affords a deep insight into the spirit of church builders in those days.

“Ethelwald, the son of King Oswald, who reigned among the Deiri, finding him a holy, wise, and good man, desired him to accept some land to build a monastery, to which the king himself might frequently resort to offer his prayers and hear the word, and be buried in it when he died; for he believed that he should receive much benefit by the prayers of those who were to serve GOD in that place. That prelate, therefore, complying with the king’s desires, chose himself a place to build a monastery among

<sup>1</sup> Bede says, “There was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar erected throughout all the nation of the Bernicians, before that new commander of the army, prompted by the devotion of his faith, set up the same as he was going to give battle to his barbarous enemy.”—Bede, Ecc. Hist. iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam; quam

tamen more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine texit, quam tempore sequenti reverentissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati apostoli Petri dedicavit. Sed episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct ablata arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes ejus, cooperire curavit.



craggy and distant mountains, which looked more like lurking-places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts, than habitations for men; to the end that according to the prophecy of Isaiah, 'in the habitations where before dragons dwelt, might be grass with reeds and rushes;' that is, that the fruits of good works should spring up, where before beasts were wont to dwell, or men to live after the manner of beasts. The man of GOD, desiring first to cleanse the place for the monastery from former crimes, by prayer and fasting, that it might become acceptable to our LORD, and so to lay the foundations, requested of the king that he would give him leave to reside there all the approaching time of Lent, to pray; all which days except of Sundays, he fasted till the evening, according to custom, and then took no other sustenance than a little bread, one hen's egg, and a little milk mixed with water. This, he said, was the custom of those of whom he had learned the rule of regular discipline; first, to consecrate to our LORD, by prayer and fasting, the places which they had newly received for building a monastery or a church. When there were ten days of Lent still remaining, there came a messenger to call him to the king; and he, that the religious work might not be intermitted on account of the king's affairs entreated his priest, Cynebil, who was also his own brother, to complete that which had been so piously begun. Cynebil readily complied, and when the time of fasting and prayer was over, he there built the monastery, which is now called Lestingaw, and established therein the religious customs of Lindisfarne, where they had been educated.

"Cedd for many years having charge of the bishopric, and of this monastery, over which he had placed superiors, came thither at a time when there was a mortality, and fell sick and died. He was first buried in the open air, but in the process of time a church was built of stone in the monastery, in honour of the mother of GOD, and his body interred in the same on the right hand of the altar."<sup>1</sup>

Not unlike in spirit is the erection of a cell in Farne Island, by the still more illustrious S. CUTHBERT. For reasons which will presently appear, I shall give Mr. Petrie's rendering of Bede's description of the cell and oratory, transcribing the original in a note. "Such also (as the more ancient Irish cells,) or very nearly, appears to have been the monastic establishment constructed on the Island of Farne, in Northumberland, in the year 684, by S. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who is usually reputed to have been an Irishman, and, at all events, received

<sup>1</sup> "Primo quidem foris sepultus est; et in illa corpus ipsius ad dextram tempore autem procedente, in eodem altaris reconditum."—Bede, Ecc. Hist. monasterio ecclesia est in honorem iii. 23. beatæ Dei genitricis de lapide facta,



his education from Irish ecclesiastics. This monastery, as described by Venerable Bede in the seventeenth chapter of his Life of that distinguished saint, was almost of a round form, four or five perches in diameter from wall to wall. This wall was on the outside of the height of a man, but was on the inside made higher by sinking the natural rock, to prevent the thoughts from rambling by restraining the sight to the view of the heavens only. It was not formed of cut stone, or brick cemented with mortar, but wholly of rough stones and earth, which had been dug up from the middle of the enclosure; and of these stones, which had been carried from another place, some were so large that four men could scarcely lift one of them. Within the enclosure were two houses, of which one was an oratory, or small chapel, and the other for the common uses of a habitation; and of these the walls were in great part formed by digging away the earth inside and outside, and the roofs were made of unhewn timber thatched with hay. Outside the enclosure, and at the entrance to the island, was a larger house for the accommodation of religious visitors, and not far from it a fountain of water.”<sup>1</sup>

Cells of this kind were, so far as we have positive evidence, almost confined to the *Scoti*, or Irish, and the churches derived from them; but in Ireland they existed at one time in great

<sup>1</sup> . . . . “Condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domus in hac æque ciuitati congruas erexit. Est autem ædificium situ pene rotundum, a muro usque ad murum mensura quatuor ferme siue quinque perticarum distentum, murus ipse deforis altior longitudine stantis hominis. Nam intrinsecus viam cedendo rupem multo fecit altiore, quatenus ad cohibendam oculorum siue cogitationem lasciuia, ad erigendam in suprema desideria totam mentis intentionem, pius incola nil de sua mansione præter cælum posset intueri: quem videlicet murum non de secto lapide vel latere et cæmento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite, quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat, composuit. E quibus

quidam tantæ erant granditatis, vt vix a quatuor viris viderentur potuisse leuari: quos tamen ipse angelico adiutus auxilio illuc attulisse aliunde et muro imposuisse repertus est.—Duas in mansione habebat domos, oratorium scilicet et aliud ad communes usus aptum habitaculum: quorum parietes quidem de naturali terra multum intus forisque circumfodiendo siue cedendo confecit, culmina vero de lignis informibus et foeno superposuit. Porro ad portam insulæ maior erat domus, in qua visitantes eum fratres suscipi et quiescere possent; nec longe ab ea fons eorundem usibus accommodus.”—Vita S. Cuthberti, apud Colgan, Acta SS., p. 667.



numbers, being constantly erected for themselves or their companions, wherever the greater saints of these people dwelt. They were doubtless brought to Iona, and thence to Northumbria and the neighbouring coasts and islands, by monks either themselves Irish, or spiritually speaking of Irish descent; and among these Cuthbert holds a very prominent place. Whether it is to be attributed to the greater reverence in which they have been held in Ireland, or to the more pertinacious adherence to ancient forms in the natives of that island, or to the comparative infrequency of finer structures displacing the rude cells and oratories of primitive recluses, certain it is, that whereas there is not a trace of such a fabric in England, there are still many in Ireland, to which the above description will apply in its general features; and the enumeration of these, with the vindication of their right to be classed among the oldest memorials of the faith in any Christian nation, forms one of the most interesting portions of Mr. Petrie's volume on the origin and use of round towers in Ireland. One who will take the pains to study the descriptions in that volume, with reference to the admirable illustrations, will know more of the history and character of a class of buildings of a very remote age, and now only of archaeological interest, than many a one has of the churches still remaining, and still the resort of worshippers within sight of his own home.

To an era illustrated by such worthy names, and to the century immediately succeeding, must be referred the foundation of many other monastic establishments, which were then among the most splendid buildings of the age, and which, receiving with successive generations their share of enrichments and enlargement, still held their place among the magnificent churches of England till the dissolution. We shall mention but very few of those instances, in which there is something of interest in the founders, as well as in the foundations. The first place is due to BENEDICT BISCOP, and his two monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, in his *Lives of the holy Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, supplies all the materials here; and

Dr. Giles' translation is still used, except in one or two places where architectural terms are in question.



“The pious servant of CHRIST, Biscop, called Benedict, with the assistance of the Divine grace, built [A.D. 671] a monastery in honour of the most holy of the Apostles, S. Peter, near the mouth of the river Were, on the north side. The venerable and devout king of that nation, Egfrid, contributed the land; and Biscop, for the space of sixteen years, amid innumerable perils in journeying and in illness, ruled this monastery with the same piety which stirred him up to build it.

“After the interval of a year, from the foundation of the monastery, Benedict crossed the sea into Gaul, and no sooner asked than he obtained and carried back with him some masons to build him a church of stone in the Roman style, which he had always admired. *Cæmentarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit.* So much zeal did he show from his love to Saint Peter, in whose honour he was building it, that within a year from the time of laying the foundation, you might have seen the roof on *culminibus superpositis*, and the sollemnity of the mass celebrated therein. When the work was drawing to completion, he sent messengers to Gaul to fetch makers of glass, (more properly artificers,) who were at this time unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of his church, with the cloisters and dining-rooms. This was done, and they came, and not only finished the work required, but taught the English nation their handicraft, which was well adapted for enclosing the lanterns of the church, and for the vessels required for various uses. All other things necessary for the service of the church and the altar, the sacred vessels, and the vestments, because they could not be procured in England, he took especial care to buy and bring home from foreign parts.<sup>1</sup>

“Some decorations and monuments there were which could not be procured even in Gaul, and these the pious founder determined to fetch from Rome; for which purpose, after he had formed the rule for his monastery, he made his fourth voyage to Rome, and returned loaded with more abundant spiritual merchandise than before. In the first place, he brought back a large quantity of books of all kinds; secondly, a great number of relics of CHRIST’S Apostles and Martyrs, all likely to bring a blessing on many an English church; thirdly, he introduced the Roman mode of chanting, singing, and ministering in the church, by obtaining permission from Pope Agatho to take back with him John, the archchanter of the church of S. Peter, and abbot of the monastery of S. Martin, to teach the

<sup>1</sup> Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, (artifices videlicet,) Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ, porticumque et cænaculorum ejus, fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, venerunt; nec solum opus postulatum compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem hu-

jusmodi artificium nosse ac discere claustris, vel vasorum multifariis usibus, non ignobiliter aptum. Sed et cuncta, quæ ad altaris et ecclesiæ ministerium competebant, vasa sancta, vel vestimenta, quia domi invenire non potuit, de transmarinis regionibus advectare religiosus emptor curabat.



English. This John, when he arrived in England, not only communicated instruction by teaching personally, but left behind him numerous writings, which are still preserved in the library of the same monastery. In the fourth place, Benedict brought with him a thing by no means to be despised, namely, a letter of privilege from Pope Agatho, which he had procured, not only with the consent, but by the request and exhortation, of King Egfrid, and by which the monastery was rendered safe and secure for ever from foreign invasion. Fifthly, he brought with him pictures of sacred representations, to adorn the church of S. Peter, which he had built: namely, a likeness of the Virgin Mary and of the Twelve Apostles, with which he intended to adorn the central nave, on boarding placed from one wall to the other; also some figures from ecclesiastical history for the south wall, and others from the Revelation of S. John for the north wall;<sup>1</sup> so that every one who entered the church, even if they could not read, wherever they turned their eyes, might have before them the amiable countenance of CHRIST and His Saints, though it were but in a picture, and with watchful minds might revolve on the benefits of our LORD's incarnation, and having before their eyes the perils of the last judgment, might examine their hearts the more strictly on that account.

"Thus King Egfrid, delighted by the virtues and zealous piety of the venerable Benedict, augmented the territory which he had given, on which to build this monastery, by a further grant of land of forty hides; on which, at the end of a year, Benedict by the same King Egfrid's concurrence, and indeed, command, built the monastery of the Apostle S. Paul.<sup>2</sup>

"When Benedict had made Easterwine abbot of S. Peter's, and Ceolfrid abbot of S. Paul's, he made his fifth voyage from Britain to Rome, and returned (as usual) with an immense number of books and pictures of the saints, as numerous as before. He also brought with him pictures out of our LORD's history, which he hung round the chapel of our Lady in the larger monastery; and others to adorn S. Paul's church and monastery, ably describing the connection of the Old and New Testament; as, for

<sup>1</sup> *Picturas imaginum sanctarum, quas ad ornandum ecclesiam beati Petri Apostoli, quam construxerat, detulit; imaginem, videlicet, beatæ Dei Genetricis semperque virginis Mariæ, simul et duodecim Apostolorum, quibus mediam ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto, a pariete ad parietem tabulato, præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ, quibus australem ecclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis, quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatenus*

*intrantes ecclesiam omnes, etiam literarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.*

<sup>2</sup> This was the Monastery at Jarrow, in which the Venerable Bede who has supplied so great a portion of our history, lived and died.



instance, Isaac bearing the wood for his own sacrifice, and CHRIST carrying the cross on which He was about to suffer, were placed side by side. Again, the serpent raised up by Moses in the desert, was illustrated by the Son of Man exalted on the cross. Among other things, he brought two cloaks, all of silk, and of incomparable workmanship, for which he received an estate of three hides on the south bank of the river Were, near its mouth, from King Alfrid, for he found on his return that Egfrid had been murdered during his absence.<sup>1</sup>

“In the sixteenth year after he built the monastery, the holy confessor found rest in the LORD, on the 14th day of January, in the church of S. Peter; and thus, as he had loved that holy Apostle in his life, and obtained from him admission into the heavenly kingdom, so also after death he rested hard by his relics, and his altar, even in the body.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Benedict Biscop's contributions to the architecture of England must not be estimated by the extent of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in their palmiest days, still less in their first beginnings. What we have chiefly to observe is, that he seems to have given a stimulus to improvement of a definite kind, and to have carried to a very consider-

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locupletatus rediit; magna quidem copia voluminum sacrorum, sed non minori (sicut et prius) sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus. Nam et tunc Divinæ historiæ picturas, quibus totam beatæ Dei Genetricis, quam in monasterio majore fecerat, ecclesiam in gyro coronaret, attulit; imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium ecclesiamque beati Pauli Apostoli, de concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti summa ratione compositas, exhibuit; verbi gratia, Isaac ligna, quibus immolaretur, portantem, et Dominum crucem, in qua pateretur, æque portantem proxima super invicem regione, pictura conjunxit. Item, serpenti in eremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum comparavit. Attulit inter alia, et pallia duo holoserica incomparandi operis, quibus postea ab Alfrido rege ejusque consiliariis, namque Egfridum postquam rediit jam interfectum reperit, terram

trium familiarum ad austrum Wiri fluminis juxta ostium, comparavit.

<sup>2</sup> Ceolfrid, the successor of Benedict, with the advice and assistance of Benedict, founded, completed, and ruled the monastery of S. Paul seven years; and, afterwards, ably governed, during twenty-eight years, both these monasteries; or, to speak more correctly, the single monastery of S. Peter and S. Paul, in its two separate localities; and, whatever works of merit his predecessor had begun, he, with no less zeal, took pains to finish. Among other arrangements which he found it necessary to make, he built several oratories; increased the number of vessels of the church and altar, and the vestments of every kind; *plura fecit oratoria: altaris et ecclesiæ vasa, vel vestimenta omnis generis ampliavit*: and the library of both monasteries, which Abbot Benedict had so actively begun, under his equally zealous care became doubled in extent.



able extent that very happy method of borrowing from other nations the skill and science in which they excelled his own countrymen, to which we have owed so much ever since his time. The importance of the introduction of *glass* we shall have occasion to notice by and bye. The use of *pictures and images* also, however much it may have been abused in after ages, must be allowed to have greatly and most beneficially influenced ecclesiastical architecture, viewed merely as an art; the *images* brought from abroad by Benedict must not be disconnected in our minds from the glorious west front of Wells, or the exquisite statuary in the Queen's crosses at Waltham, at Geddington, and at Northampton. But the most important of the benefits which Biscop conferred on the ecclesiastical architecture of his country is perhaps summed up in the few and somewhat obscure words, *cæmentarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam JUXTA ROMANORUM MOREM facerent attulit*. By some it has been inferred from this passage, that Benedict Biscop first introduced stone<sup>1</sup> as a building material, and that this was the Roman fashion which he so greatly valued; but this notion is entirely exploded, and it is only strange that it could ever have existed, when there is frequent mention of stone churches before his time. Nor can it well be supposed that the manner of the masonry can be intended, for if *cæmentarii* be taken for building in any peculiar fashion, it is rather with the lower than with the higher character of building that their name is connected, *cæmentum* being a mass of unwrought rag or rubble, roughly imbedded in the mortar, and *cæmentarii* the masons who build with such primitive materials. The introduction of the arch of that form which is still called *Romanesque*, may be supposed to satisfy the phrase *juxta Romanorum morem*, but it is difficult to believe that this was unusual before this time, when we remember that there

<sup>1</sup> It may seem at first sight a confirmation of this notion that building with *wood* is expressly called by Bede the manner of the Scots. Finan fecit ecclesiam . . . quam more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit. III. cap. xxv. But we are told by Mr. Petrie that before this time the Scoti, i. e., the Irish

certainly built sometimes with stone; and besides, if it was necessary to distinguish between the usual Saxon building and that which was of wood, by giving to the latter another name, we should infer that the Saxons did *not* generally use wood in building their churches.



were already Roman arches in abundance in the kingdom, and that the inhabitants of Great Britain could hardly have forgotten the art of constructing them, which they had learned during their subjection to the empire. Perhaps the difference of fashion thus expressed may be, at least partly, ritual, and altogether *rather of degree than of kind*. Thus, although the arch may have been already used in doors and windows, and between the nave and chancel; yet if aisles were now introduced, after an arrangement forced on the Romans by the form of the ancient Basilica, and afterwards adopted by them for ritual purposes, the use of the arch would be greatly multiplied, and the church be better adapted for the processions in which a body of ecclesiastics would often be engaged. Again, the apse may, probably at least, have been introduced from Rome at this time: and the habit of departing from the very scanty proportions of early Saxon churches may have originated with the more frequent pilgrimages to Rome of our Saxon ecclesiastics, and with the introduction of Roman artificers into England. At all events, we shall see all these features distinctly marked in the church at Hexham built by WILFRID, who was a great traveller, as well as Benedict Biscop, and more than equally wedded to Roman fashions.<sup>1</sup>

The erection of this church is thus related by Eddius,<sup>2</sup> Wilfrid's contemporary. Having obtained of Queen Etheldrida, who was herself dedicated to the LORD, a region in Hexham, he there founded a church in honour of the blessed Apostle Andrew. Nor can I pretend, says Eddius, in the poverty of my language, to describe the depth of its foundation, with its chambers of stone marvellously wrought; and above the ground the intricacy of the fabric propped with various pillars and porticos, adorned with a marvellous length and height of walls, and with passages of various turnings, winding sometimes upward, and sometimes downward, and carried through spiral stairs: and all this that holy Bishop of souls designed to perform taught by the Spirit of GOD: nor was it ever heard that such another

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bloxam considers some such portions of the more ancient parts of the churches of Wearmouth and Jarrow to be relics of Biscop's building. The

only characteristic features are rude round-headed windows, with some long and short work in the jambs.

<sup>2</sup> See also Bede, Ecc. Hist. v. 20.



church was erected on this side the Alps. And besides this, who can venture to relate how Bishop Acca still by God's grace among the living, has adorned the same church with various ornaments of gold and silver and precious stones, and has clothed the altars with purple and silk hangings.<sup>1</sup>

Another, though an indirect testimony to the height of the church, appears in the next section, which relates how a youth was cured, who fell from an exceeding high wing of the church to the stone pavement, and there lay with his arms and legs broken.<sup>2</sup> But the most valuable testimony to the splendour of this effort of the eighth century, is the description of it by Richard, prior of the same church, at the close of the twelfth century, when the Normans had taught us to despise most of the works of our Saxon ancestors.

"S. Wilfrid laid the foundation of this church, deep in the earth, with great care, forming crypts and subterraneous oratories, and winding passages. The walls, extending to a great length, and raised to a great height, were divided into three distinct stories, supported by polished columns, some square, and others of various forms. The walls, and also the capitals of the columns, by which they were supported, and the arch of the sanctuary were decorated with histories and images, and different figures carved in relief, on stone, and painted with colours displaying a pleasing variety and wonderful beauty. The body of the church was likewise surrounded on all sides by pentries and porticos, [apses?]<sup>3</sup> which, with the most wonderful artifice, were divided above and below by walls and winding stairs. Within these winding passages, and over them were

<sup>1</sup> "In Hagustaldense adepta regione a Regina Æthildrite Domino dedicata, domum Domino in honorem beati Andreæ Apostoli fabrefactam fundavit: cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis linearum circumductam, non est meæ parvitatis hoc sermone explicare, quod sanctus ipse Præsul animarum, a Spiritu Dei doctus, opere facere excogitavit: neque ullum domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus. Porro beatæ memoriæ adhuc vivens gratia Domini

Acca Episcopus, qui magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et argento lapidibusque pretiosis, et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum sufficere poterat?"—Eddius, in Mabillon, v. 646.

<sup>2</sup> "Cum ædificantes namque cæmentarii murorum hujus domus altitudines, quidam juvenis ex servis Dei, de pinna enormis proceritatis elapsus ad terram, deorsum cadens in pavementum lapideum, illis cecidit, confRACTA sunt crura et brachia."—Eddius in Mabillon, v. 647.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of the word *Porticus*, see Willis' Canterbury Cathedral, p. 39.



stairs and galleries of stone, and various ways for ascending and descending, so ingeniously contrived that a vast multitude of persons might be there, and pass round the church, without being visible to any one in the nave below. Many oratories, also, most retired and beautiful, were, with the utmost care and diligence, erected in the porticos, [apses ?] both above and below; and in them were placed altars in honour of the blessed Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, S. Michael the Archangel, S. John the Baptist, and the holy Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, with all becoming and proper furniture belonging to them. Some parts of this building, even to this day, remain standing like turrets and fortified places."<sup>1</sup>

Wilfrid was made Bishop of York in 669, and retained the see, with some intervals, into the causes of which we shall not here enter, till 691. When he came to his church in the reign of King Edwy, he found the very stone walls half ruined; the roofs, already grown old, let in the water; the windows were open; birds built their nests in the church, and the walls were contaminated with their filth, and with the stains of the weather: all which, when the holy Bishop saw, according to the words of Daniel, his spirit was grieved within him, because he found the house of God and of prayer, converted as it were into a den of thieves, and he presently determined on restoring it, according to the will of God. First of all he repaired the roof, skilfully covering it *with sheets of lead*: he shut out the weather and the birds, without impeding the light, by *glazing the windows*. *He washed the walls*, and made them as the Prophet speaks, *whiter than snow*. Moreover, he not only adorned the house of God and the altar with rich furniture, but he acquired also many estates with which he enriched it, and so converted its poverty of worldly goods into abundance.<sup>2</sup> This passage is perhaps more interesting from the light which it throws on the

<sup>1</sup> This extract is given from Britton.

<sup>2</sup> Igitur supradicto Rege regnante, beatæ memoriæ Wilfrido Episcopo Metropolitano Eboracæ civitatis constituto, Basilicæ oratorii Dei, in ea civitate a sancto Paulino Episcopo in diebus olim Eadwini Christianissimi Regis primo fundatæ, et dedicatæ Deo, officia semirutæ lapidea eminebant. Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia, fenestræque apertæ, avibus nidifi-

cantibus intro, et foras volitantibus, et parietes incultæ, omni spurcitia imbrium, et avium, horribiles manebant. Videns itaque hæc omnia sanctus Pontifex noster secundum Prophetam Danielelem, *horruit spiritus ejus*, in eo quod domus Dei et orationis quasi speluncam latronum factam agnovit, et mox juxta voluntatem Dei emendare excogitavit, primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, arti-



resources of the ecclesiastical architect of that day, than for any additional information which it gives us of the fabric of the church at York in particular. We find the use of glass and of lead thus early introduced; and probably of lime, in the form of whitewash, for nothing besides would be described by the terms *lavans super nivem dealbavit*.

Besides building the church at Hexham, and restoring that at York, Wilfrid founded the church at Ripon, a work which Eddius duly commemorates in the passage given below.<sup>1</sup> This church he dedicated to S. Peter, and these pious acts were not unrecorded, according to the historian, in the book of God's remembrance; for when Wilfrid lay sick at Meldum, in his return from Rome, and expecting his death, the Archangel Michael appeared to him, promising him, at the impetration of the Blessed Virgin, an addition of four years to his life, and adding, "Thou hast dedicated churches to S. Peter and to S. Andrew, but to the ever Virgin Mary, who intercedes for thee, thou hast dedicated no church: thou hast to amend this thy neglect, and to build a church to her also."<sup>2</sup> Or as Fridegodus relates the message of the angel in a metrical legend:—

"Surgito concivis, nostri non portio vilis:  
Et licet astricolas inter numerere catervas,

ficiose plumbo puro tegens, per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiebat. Parietes quoque lavans secundum Prophetam, *super nivem dealbavit*, eam enim non solum domum Dei, et altare, in varia supellectili vasorum intus ornavit, verum etiam deforis multa territoria pro Deo adeptus, terrenis opibus paupertatem auferens copiose ditavit.

<sup>1</sup> "Crescebat ergo cum seculari sumptu, Deo donante, Pontifici nostro, amico Sponsi Æternalis, magis ac magis ardentissimus amor sponsæ virginis uni viro desponsatæ, de matre omnium bonorum progenitæ: quam disciplinæ moribus quasi floribus virtutum, castam et pudicam, continentem et modestam, *circumamictam*

*varietate*, subjectam pulchre adornavit, secundum Prophetam, *Omnis gloria filiæ Regis ab intus*. Sicut enim Moyses tabernaculum seculare manu factum, ad exemplar in monte monstratum a Deo, ad concitandam Israelitico populo culturæ Dei fidem, distinctis variis coloribus ædificavit: ita vero beatissimus Wilfridus Episcopus thalamum veri sponsi et sponsæ, in conspectu populorum corde credentium et fide confitentium, auro, et argento, purpuraque varia mirifice decoravit: nam in Hrypis Basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in terra usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in altum erexit, et consummavit."

<sup>2</sup> Eddius, liii.



Inquit, ab orbatis jam nunc revocaberis agnis.  
 Postquam bis binis fratres solidaveris annis;  
 Cum mercede bona temet revocabo, sed insta  
 Christotochæ dignas ædes fabricare Mariæ:  
 Cujus amore tibi cumulantur certius anni.  
 Novit quid Petro, Petri quid solvis adelpho.”<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this warning, it does not seem that Wilfrid added a church to the Blessed Virgin to his other foundations. He was buried at Ripon; and Bede gives his epitaph, which begins thus:—

“ Vilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore præsul,  
 Hanc Domini qui aulam ductus pietatis amore  
 Fecit, et eximio sacravit nomine Petri.”

The brethren of the church where he reposed believed that they were the safer for his tutelar care; a belief which was confirmed by a sign in the heavens, which I relate as a most striking instance of that very rare and impressive phenomenon, the lunar rainbow. For when many Abbots and Bishops, and the whole household, were assembled at the festival of the departed Prelate, after supper, in the evening twilight, when they had gone out to the service of compline, they saw a wonderful sign in the heavens; a white circle, like a rainbow, as it appears in the day, but without its various colours. It seemed to spring from the church dedicated to S. Peter, near to where the body of the Bishop rested, and it encircled the whole monastery. The religious who saw the sign blessed the LORD, understanding that thenceforth there was a wall of Divine help surrounding the chosen vineyard of the family of the LORD.<sup>2</sup>

“ Hesperus aeriis sed jam densaverat umbras,  
 Pernox cura fratrum cum cœlum respicit altum.  
 Emicuit ciclus tenebrosa per astra coruscus,  
 Ceu matutinos igniret Phosphorus ortus.  
 Canduit hic radius Monachum Cænobia circum  
 Officiose, vias visus liquisse polinas.  
 Hinc patuit, Domini quia constat vinea firmis  
 Oratu Wilfridi ævum stabilita gigantis.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon, 679.

<sup>2</sup> See Eddius, lxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Mabillon, 682.



Let us place this account at the lowest, and without assuming that there was a revelation of God's purpose, in this "bow in the cloud," still this is a most impressive passage. The procession of Abbots and brethren moving towards the church for compline, the bright circle, rising as from the grave of the departed Bishop, and like a crown of glory overarching the whole fabric which calls him its founder, and the shouts of joy and the ascriptions of praise to God, for what is accepted by all as a sign of promised protection: this is a scene worthy to grace the festival of a founder of churches.

With Wilfrid we may fairly leave this portion of our history, for there is little reason to suppose that any additions were made to the resources of the ecclesiastical architect, or any greater stimulus given to their employment, until the introduction of the Benedictine Order into England by Dunstan. We may add that portions of the present crypts of York and Ripon are attributed to Wilfrid.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a paper by Mr. Turner, in No. VII. of the *Archæological Journal*; and another paper by Mr. Waltham in the

York volume of the *Transactions of the Archæological Institute*.



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE SAXON PERIOD.

*From the Birth of Dunstan to Edward the Confessor.*

DUNSTAN INTRODUCES THE BENEDICTINE RULE INTO ENGLAND, AND REBUILDS GLASTONBURY WITH INCREASED SPLENDOUR.—OSWALD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.—RAMSEY ABBEY, AND WORCESTER.—ADHELM, FOUNDER OF MALMSBURY ABBEY.—MIRACLES CONNECTED WITH THE ERECTION OF CHURCHES.—RESTORATION OF CHURCHES AFTER DANISH INVASION.—CROYLAND, KIRKDALE.

WE now arrive at another marked era of church building. We have seen the introduction of a Cænobitic system followed everywhere by the erection of churches and monasteries, the most splendid buildings of their day: but in the middle of the tenth century, English monachism assumed a more regular form, and made, in consequence, very rapid advances, both in the number of its votaries and in all external indications of its wealth and greatness.

S. DUNSTAN may be called the second founder of the monastic system in England, and his character, full of the æsthetic element, would not let him neglect the beauty of the sanctuary; while his pursuits and varied acquirements rendered him every way capable of taking part even in the minutest details of the movement which he was originating.

This extraordinary man<sup>1</sup> was born in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, about the year 925. His parents were noble by birth, and still more noble, as Christians ought to be, by their piety. He was a sickly child,<sup>2</sup> but his active spirit was not

<sup>1</sup> The authority generally followed here, is the life of Dunstan by Osbern, published in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.

<sup>2</sup> "Mulier genuit filium, quantitate quidem corporis parvulum, sed ea qua

præventus fuerat gratia Dei immensum." His future history is evidently coloured by the excitability of a delicate frame, acted upon by an ardent spirit.



weighed down by the infirmities of nature. The usual character of monkish histories leads us to expect an account of divine presages of his greatness, and we have one which cannot be omitted here; for the heavenly visitant, who reveals the future greatness of the youth, appears almost literally in the character of an Ecclesiastical Architect, revealing the architypal form of a church. His parents brought him to Glastonbury, already venerable for its ancient associations.<sup>1</sup> Here, while they were watching all night in prayer, a man appeared to them of a heavenly aspect, who told them that the splendour of the place should, after a short time, be greatly increased, and bid them leave their boy there, foretelling his future beatification. Then stretching a surveyor's measuring line over the precincts of the church:<sup>2</sup> "After this fashion," said he, "shall a place be erected, for the religious profit of those who shall hereafter believe in God, through this youth."

Glastonbury was a noted school of such learning as the times afforded, under the charge of certain Irish priests; and there Dunstan, giving himself more diligently to his studies than his years and his tender frame would bear, brought on a dangerous illness, accompanied with delirium. His sad associates were beginning to think of the funeral obsequies of their beloved pupil, when CHRIST Himself administered a remedy by the hands of an angel. Dunstan by the guidance of the heavenly visitant, arose and proceeded at once to the church, to return

<sup>1</sup> "The celebrated abbey of Glastonbury was probably a Welch monastery before King Ina of Wessex, at the close of the seventh century, took Somerset from the Welch, and raised his own great foundation there. There seems no reason to doubt that King Arthur was buried in the island of Avalon, or Ynis-vitryn, 'the glassy island,' as it was called by the Welch, being surrounded at that time with a wide lake of still water, before the streams that encircle it were confined to their banks; and here there was a church founded by the Saxons, built as they sometimes built their churches, of

that kind of stud-building still in use in many parts of the country, where it has not given way to brick or stone. In all likelihood the Britons had a monastery here, for at such places their princes were buried; and whatever may be thought of S. Patrick's coming to Glastonbury to die, and of the legend about Joseph of Arimathea, the tomb of Arthur, discovered in Henry II.'s reign, is a strong proof of the ancient religion of the place."—Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> "Mensoris funiculum per plana atrii extendens."



thanks for the blessing he had received. His attendants, astonished at what was taking place, followed at a little distance to see the end. The devil, envious of his restored health, and fearing his future influence, beset him in his way accompanied with a pack of howling dogs; the youth calling on CHRIST, seized a staff which he brandished in the face of his opponent, and so, still attended by the angel, arrived at the church. Finding the door bolted, he mounted the stairs which led to the roof,<sup>1</sup> and going thence to another part of the building from which there was no means of descent, he was gently let down upon the pavement by the angel's hands. In the morning he was found among the brethren who were keeping their nocturns, fallen into a gentle sleep, and unable to satisfy the curiosity of those who asked him about the events of the night. His fame was now so widely extended, that many of both sexes crowded to see him; but the more his praises were sounded, the more apparent did his humility become.

But it is more immediately to our purpose to record his proficiency in those arts and sciences which are secular in themselves, though capable of receiving a religious direction in the hands of a Christian. He was learned beyond all his fellows in philosophy, and was soon wonderfully skilled in manual operations. He was a painter and a scribe; and we have still proofs remaining of his proficiency in these arts. He was, besides, a diligent and skilful artificer in gold, silver, brass, and iron, and used the more delicate gravers' tools, as well as the hammer and the tongs; but most of all he delighted not only in the practice, but in the science of music, and in the making of musical instruments.<sup>2</sup> Miracles are brought to attest his skill in these

<sup>1</sup> *Scalam cui inniti solebant qui superiora templi sarciebant.* The present church of Brixworth, which already existed in the time of Dunstan, retains all the requisites for this scene. The angel and the boy ascended up the wide and massive stairs contained in the semicircular appendage to the tower, and crossing over to the other side of the tower, looked down upon the church from the threefold opening in the west wall of the nave,

and then lightly descended, on angel pinions, to the floor.

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmsbury tells us that Dunstan gave large and deep-toned bells (*Signa sono et mole præstantia*) to the Abbey of Malmsbury, and organs, in which the inflated bellows pour out the air which they have just received, through brazen pipes, of such length as to produce the various musical notes. (*Organa, uti per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elabo-*



matters. He was much pressed by a certain pious matron to paint a pattern upon a priest's stole which she might afterwards enrich with golden embroidery.<sup>1</sup> Dunstan goes to her house and hangs his harp on the wall, he applies his hand to the work for which he came, and his heart and lips to the praises of God; when the harp, without touch of man, pours forth, with the utmost precision the melody of the anthem: "*The souls of the saints rejoice in heaven, who have followed CHRIST on earth, who have poured forth their blood for love of Him, for they shall reign with CHRIST for ever.*" The damsels of the family,—the mistress, the servants,—all exclaim that their guest is wiser than he ought to be; but Dunstan hears in this heavenly strain an admonition to follow CHRIST more closely, if necessary even to the shedding of his blood. He had soon an opportunity of practising this lesson; for being accused of magic, he was dismissed from the court, and his enemies brutally assaulted him as he retired, adding violence to their former enmity, and the danger of death to his disgrace.

Before he had taken the habit, Dunstan was a pattern of all those virtues which are most nourished by the monastic system, and most lauded in monkish legends; and now, having become a monk, he added to his former discipline the still greater asceticism of a hermit. He built for himself a little shed<sup>2</sup> against the church, less like a human habitation than a tomb, in length about five feet, in breadth two and a half feet: one side of the shed which opened, and contained the only window, was the door.

ratas dudum conceptas follis vomit  
anxius auras,) and on these he placed  
a brazen plate thus inscribed:

"Organa de Sancto Præsul Dunstanus  
Adelmo  
Predat, hic æternum qui vult huic  
tollere regnum."

William of Malmsbury had also  
seen a waterpot thus inscribed:

"Idriola hanc fundi Dunstan man-  
daverat Archi-  
Præsul; ut in templo sancto serviret  
Adelmo."

—William of Malmsbury *de vita  
Adhelmi.*

<sup>1</sup> So I understand the words: *ut  
ei sacerdotalem stolam artificiosa ope-  
ratione perpingeret quam postea ad  
divinos cultus aurifactoria imitatione  
figuraret.* And we have here an inter-  
esting record of church embroidery,  
and of the way in which the pious  
hands of those days were directed  
in the choice of appropriate decora-  
tions, and even helped in their diffi-  
cult task.

<sup>2</sup> "Destinam, sive spelæum, sive  
alio quolibet nomine rectius nominari  
potest."



This was his house, his bed, and all of this world that he beheld. There would Dunstan stand at his work ; and there would the devil reiterate his attacks. He would peep through the little window and utter perverse speeches, intermingling the names of women, and the recollection of pleasures, with his talk, and turning the life of a religious to ridicule. The soldier of CHRIST recognized the tempter, and putting his tongs into the fire, began with lips closely pressed together, to call on the name of CHRIST ; and when he saw the tongs were red hot, he snatched them from the fire, and seizing the obscene monster by the nose dragged him into his shed. The devil roared with rage and pain, and escaped at last tearing down part of the wall as he went. A story of this kind carries with it its own refutation, as the assertion of a fact ; but it conveys this true lesson : *That the man whose hands are never idle, has a great advantage over the tempter.*

The king being in imminent danger while hunting, called to mind his harshness to Dunstan, and prayed to God to forgive him this wrong, and to save his life. He was delivered, and in recompense gave to Dunstan his royal demesnes at Glastonbury, with the privilege of establishing a monastery there for his own order. Dunstan commences the work without delay. The foundation of a more splendid church is laid, and all the requisite buildings are planned *according to the pattern which had been revealed to him.* A great concourse of monks are collected, and Dunstan becomes the first abbot of the first Benedictine monastery in England. The king was slain soon after, and his body being brought to Glastonbury, was buried by Dunstan. Edred succeeded, and under the influence of Dunstan was a great benefactor of churches. Edwy his successor was a less worthy prince, and Dunstan retired to his monastery. Here miracles continued to attest his sanctity.<sup>1</sup> There was a tower which had not yet been roofed : and when the workmen were raising a heavy beam to the top, the ropes broke, and the beam began to fall. Dunstan hears a scream, rushes forth,

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to observe that by far the greater part of the miracles attributed to Dunstan are not alluded to. Those only are mentioned which are in

some degree connected with his occupation as an artificer or builder, or with some part of ecclesiastical habits and ritual.



making the sign of the cross in the air, and the beam immediately rises again to its place. The devil is again enraged, and attacks Dunstan in the form of a bear, and tries to tear his pastoral staff from him. The good Abbot retains his hold, raises the staff into the air, and lets it fall on his adversary with such force, that it is broken into three pieces.

The vices of Edwy were so flagrant, that Dunstan was forced to administer a harsh rebuke, and he was in consequence banished the court and the kingdom; but Edwy died, and Edgar succeeded, during whose reign Dunstan acquired his greatest influence. He held at the same time the Bishoprics of London and Worcester, reconciling his conscience to the plurality, no doubt, by the belief that he should have the greater power to effect his darling object—the aggrandisement of the monks, at the expense of the secular clergy.<sup>1</sup> He afterwards resigned those sees to occupy the metropolitan throne of Canterbury. Here he continued with the increased influence of his station to carry on the same unjust warfare. Here he died (A.D. 988), and here he “was buried in the spot which he himself had chosen two days before his death,—the place, to wit, where the Divine Office was daily celebrated by the brethren, and which was before the steps which led up to the Altar of the LORD CHRIST. Here in the midst of the choir, his body was deposited in a leaden coffin, deep in the ground, according to the ancient custom of the English; and the depth of his grave was made equal to the stature of an ordinary man. A tomb was afterwards constructed over him, in the form of a large and lofty pyramid, and having at the head of the Saint the matutinal altar. Thus, by choosing so conspicuous a spot, he left a mournful and tender memorial of himself to the brethren singing in the choir, or ascending the steps of the altar.”<sup>2</sup> . . . . “After the great fire at Canterbury, there was erected over his resting-

<sup>1</sup> A highly picturesque vision of the blessed Apostles SS. Peter, Paul, and Andrew was invented, to sanctify this irregularity. We must omit it from its length. May the days come when pluralities, under whatever excuse,

have ceased to be the bane of the Church!

<sup>2</sup> This account of the burial and tomb of Dunstan is taken from Professor Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 6—13.



place, a house of small magnitude, in which masses were daily performed over his body."

Dunstan had but too well succeeded in his attack on the credit of the secular clergy. Edgar, during his reign, erected or restored no fewer than forty-eight monasteries, and the Benedictine rule was advanced to its greatest perfection, with corresponding reputation and prosperity, under Ethelwold and Oswald,<sup>1</sup> Bishops of Winchester and Worcester, who co-operated zealously with Dunstan while he lived, and advanced his plans most effectually after his death. Of the influence of Oswald, we have the following very interesting example, in the foundation of the Abbey of Ramsey.

The isle of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, was the least repulsive of the marsh lands of that district, and the mere out of which it arose was remarkable for the abundance of fish which it produced, especially eels, and pike of enormous size. In the reign of Edgar it was part of the patrimony of Aylwin, a nobleman of the highest reputation, and rich in the favour of his prince and of all the people. It happened that to Aylwin the King intrusted the funeral of one of the greatest and most beloved persons of his court; and at Glastonbury, where the

<sup>1</sup> "Oswald had not been long established in his see, before he endeavoured to convert the cathedral of that diocese into a Benedictine monastery; but being thwarted in his plans by the opposition which his scheme met with from the Chapter, he was determined to have his revenge. Accordingly, he founded a monastery in the neighbourhood, and introduced into it the Benedictine rule, hoping that the people in those parts would be led to draw invidious comparisons between the two rival institutions; nor was the expedient altogether unsuccessful. Numerous congregations attended upon the ministry of the monks, while the cathedral was nearly deserted. Pecuniary losses contributed to increase the mortification which was

hence experienced; for many offerings were taken to the altar of the Benedictines, while few were presented in the cathedral. These losses, together with the increasing reputation of the newly-founded monastery began, at length, to operate upon the minds of the Chapter: and one of the senior canons, named Wensinus, a man much esteemed among his brethren, yielded to the wishes of Oswald, and was immediately sent by him to Ramsey, for instruction in the Benedictine discipline. Other canons followed the example of Wensinus, who, having been recalled by his diocesan, was appointed prior of the monastery, which Oswald had succeeded in substituting for his Chapter."—Fox's *Monks and Monasteries*.



corpse was to return to its dust, Oswald, the successor of Dunstan in his influence over the monastic body, and now his suffragan,<sup>3</sup> took part in the obsequies. Aylwin was irresistibly attracted towards the Bishop by the sanctity of his deportment, and after the solemn rites were concluded, he hastened to converse with him, like Cornelius with S. Peter, but moved not by an angel, but by the devotion of his soul, and not as a seeker of the rudiments of the faith, but as a hearer of counsels of perfection.

The conversation as given by the chronicler of Ramsey is too long to be translated entire, but it is so remarkable as a summary of the arguments by which great men were often led to the foundation of religious houses, and so valuable therefore in its bearing on ecclesiological history, that I shall endeavour to condense its spirit within a smaller space.

“Providence,” said the Earl, “has at length smiled on my wish to see you, and I trust that our meeting may not be without occasions of converting acquaintance into a deeper friendship. I am a man under authority, yet blessed with a large estate and with great influence. This is the gift of God, and I well know that where He has given much He will require the more.”

The heart of the Bishop warmed towards Aylwin as he replied, “I thank you, most noble Earl, for the way in which you have more than anticipated the movement of my heart towards you; and yet more do I thank God for the good seed which He has sown within you. True, indeed, it is, that the more exalted our station, the greater our obligation to fill it worthily. And though we be lifted up above other men, yet have we enough in common with them to keep us lowly. All alike are born in sorrow, and living in sorrow, in sorrow at last end our days, God having set no differences between men, except those of virtue and vice. Wealth and honour are blessings and privileges only when we rule them, instead of their enslaving us; and though perhaps greatness may be permitted us, lowliness is the most blessed estate. The wind that sweeps the broad boughs of the lofty tree, shakes its roots to their last fibre, while the bending reed rises erect again, and the lowly myrtle scarcely feels the

<sup>1</sup> Dunstan being Archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald Bishop of Worcester.



blast. The worm feeds sweetly on Cæsar and Alexander. Or look on the freshly turned soil beneath our feet. He who was yesterday great and greatly beloved, whose word turned the mind even of the king, who was clothed in purple and silk and gold, and feasted with us in the king's chamber,—he is now in his grave, and all that he had is passed away, except the treasure which he may have laid up in heaven."

Bursting into tears, the Earl asked what remedy remained for him, whose very greatness did but multiply his cares, and whose duties were too full of occasions of sin, or at best of mistaken judgment. The Bishop replied, that if he made equity always his guide, his worldly honours would be profitable to him; but that if by any error or fault of judgment, or inscrutable accident, he had swerved from the right, he might atone for the error by increased alms, and by relief of the distressed. Yet that, after all, those only are free who have embraced a voluntary poverty for CHRIST's sake. "And great is the praise of their estate. Often do their prayers and their merits avert the judgments of heaven, obtain healthful and fruitful seasons, drive away famine and pestilence: in their retirement they do indeed rule kingdoms, open prisons, break chains asunder. In their poverty and simplicity they relieve the shipwrecked, cure the sick, strengthen the weak; in a word, while the world in its madness abuses the Divine patience, for their sake its whole framework is maintained. If then, you know in all your wide lands, a place fit for the residence of holy men, who by their prayers may supply your defects and expiate your sins, do not hesitate to appropriate it to so good a purpose, and from me you shall have all the help that my office and experience can afford."

*Aylwin.* "Such a place I have, reverend father, called Ramsey, in all respects fit for the habitation of such a holy brotherhood. Remote from all concourse of men, the very spirit of solitude reigns there, yet it is fertile, and well clothed with woods, and its flocks and pastures amply repay the care bestowed upon them. Till lately there was no building there, but a few sheds for the flocks which I used to send to fatten in the rich pasture; but some years back, when I had long languished under a severe and hopeless illness, I received the promise of a



cure from S. Benedict, and at the same time was enjoined to build a monastery, in the very place of which I speak. The vision soon received the first part of its fulfilment, in the restoration of my health, and I hastened to perform my part; throwing up a little cell, with wooden walls, which might remain until I had leisure to erect a larger church, and all necessary offices for the reception of the brethren. There three men only who have renounced the luxuries of the world, await the aid and counsel of some one who shall teach them the monastic rule."

*Oswald.* "In a village in my diocese there are twelve brethren who have cast behind their backs the lusts of the flesh, and are only warmed with Divine love. These would willingly undertake the charge: let us then go at once, together, and inspect the place of which you speak."

*Aylwin.* "It is well said, most holy father; thither will we go, and there shall the flock whom you mention form one fold with those already there."

And now they bid adieu to the assembled Bishops and Barons, and hasten to Ramsey. "Here, father," says Aylwin, "is the place which S. Benedict pointed out as a site for a religious house. Here you have only to command, it will be my happiness to obey."

Oswald, with a prescient spirit, exclaimed, "Verily this is another Eden, pre-ordained for men destined for the highest heaven. In this place, O my friend, shall all generations acknowledge the proofs of your faith and devotion; and while we are here erecting a temporary mansion, we shall also be erecting, if our faith fail not, a mansion eternal in the heavens. Let us then commence at once, for as the iron is beaten while glowing with internal fire into whatever form the smith chooses: so must we, while the little spark of an inceptive devotion is kindled in us, go on with the work which we have designed, lest the devil should take occasion of any delay to breathe a colder spirit upon us, and so the conclusion answer not to the beginning. Let me therefore return to my own place, and send hither a certain man, faithful and approved in such works, under whose management a little refectory and dormitory may be prepared for the brethren who shall come hither, until we shall



ourselves return, and consult about the form and character of the future church."

The architect whom Oswald sent was Ædnothus, who at once laid out the ground, and enlarged the chapel, which he found there already, adding other buildings according to the form and manner which had been fairly designed for him by the holy man. Twelve brethren from Westbury were sent to Ramsey, and the care of the internal arrangement of the monastery was committed to Germanus, that of all out-door works to Ædnothus. During the winter he got together whatever instruments of wood or iron would be required for the masons' work; and as the flowers of spring peeped forth, artificers were seen gathering together to the works. The length and breadth of the church to be constructed are marked out: the foundations, on account of the dampness of the soil, are deeply laid; and the bed is made still more solid to sustain the superimposed weight, by frequent blows of the beetle.<sup>1</sup> The labourers are stimulated as well by devotion as by their wages, some bring stones together, some temper mortar, and some raise on high both stones and mortar with a crane, and the work visibly progresses, through the Lord's help. Moreover, two towers are raised above the ridge of the roof: the first, standing at the west end of the church, presents from afar a noble spectacle to those who enter the island;<sup>2</sup> but the greater tower rises from the centre of the cross upon four columns, connected with arches, springing across from aisle to aisle. In truth the whole is a glorious edifice, according to the form of building of the day.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The historians mention the means taken to secure a good foundation in Croyland also, and at Medeshamstede. "At Croyland, on account of the spongy nature of the soil, innumerable piles of oak and alder were driven into the ground, and the spaces between them filled up with dry earth, brought from a distance of nine miles." (Ingulf. fol. 485.) "At Medeshamstede, the foundations were laid with stones of such enormous size that each was drawn to its place by a team of eight yoke of oxen." (Hug. Cand. p. 4.) Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard infers that this tower was separate from the main building. This certainly does not appear in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Inito deinde consilio, tota hyeme sequenti quicquid provida cæmentariorum ars, tam in ferreis quam in ligneis instrumentis, exquirebat, et omnia, quæ futuro videbantur ædificio necessaria præparabat. Emensa denique hyeme, cum jam consitum floribus ver caput exereret, fit congestorum distractio thesaurorum. Exquisiti conducuntur artifices, construendæ



But the brethren of Ramsey did not long pride themselves without rebuke in the beauty of their church. When they arose one morning they saw in the central tower a great crack, from top to bottom, which seemed to threaten the whole church with instant destruction. Germanus and Ædnothus were sent to Aylwin to tell him of the misfortune. The noble soldier of CHRIST for a moment repressed his words, lest he should seem to reproach God by an impatient expression of grief; but soon he recovered his self-possession, and said, "I was dumb, dearest children, at your news, for I saw that my travail had returned upon me; but it is the LORD's will, and blessed be His Name. I had hoped that my limbs, weary and worn out, might at length enjoy a seasonable rest, and now two things conspire to disappoint my wishes,—the loss of former labours, and the necessity of renewed exertions. But for this I have to thank God, that as yet my body is vigorous, and that an unsubdued spirit animates my aged frame." The good old man hastens to the spot, the brethren meet him. He enters the church, attended by the choristers, and having first celebrated Divine service, he takes courage to look on the terrific ruin. The masons all agree that the fault was in the softness of the foundation, and that without taking down the whole, it could not be remedied. Oswald is consulted, and he too in his old age gives cheerful and wise counsel. The brethren must have been weak indeed not to be encouraged by such advisers, and base indeed not to be stimulated to exertion by the greatness of their hearts. "Behold," said Aylwin, "how little time or strength is left to me: you whose minds are still firm and active as your bodies,—you must

Basilicæ longitudo et latitudo commensuratur, fundamenta alta propter uliginem undique vicinam jaciuntur, et crebris arietum ictibus insolidam supponendo oneri fortitudinem fortius contunduntur. Operariis igitur tam devotionis fervore quam mercedis amore laborem continuantibus, dum alii lapides comportant, alii cæmentum conficiunt, atque alii hoc et illos rotali machina in altum subministrant, Domino incrementum præstante opus indies altius consurgit. Duæ quoque

turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte Basilicæ pulchrum intransitibus Insulam a longe spectaculum præbebat, major vero in quadrifidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de ala, ad alam arcubus sibi invicem connexas, ne laxæ defluerent, deprimebat. Juxta eam qua vetus illa antiquitas utebatur, ædificandi formam, spectabile satis ædificium.—Hist. Ramasiensis.



bear the burden of the work. As for me, the wealth which I have acquired shall be devoted to the service, and, thank God, it will be enough." The labourers approach the tower by the roof, and going stoutly to work, take it down stone by stone to the very ground. They search into the cause of so grievous a destruction, and having taken out the earth from a great depth, find where the foundation was defective.<sup>1</sup> Then making a firm cement with stones and mortar, which they render still harder with the blows of beetles, they fill up the trench, and the masons rejoice to see the daily progress of their work.<sup>2</sup>

While thus stimulating others, Oswald himself was not idle; the church of Worcester attracted his zeal and munificence, and

<sup>1</sup> "Deinde lapidum congerie arietum tusionibus cum cæmento tenaciori durius conserta, abyssum ipsam denuo construunt, et superædificantes cotidiani laboris votivo gaudent proventu." The *Historia Ramasiensis*, from which these accounts are taken, is by a brother of that house, whose name and age are unknown, though it is certain he did not write before the time of Henry I.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbey of Ramsey affords one of the early instances in Sir Henry Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*. The story touches the fabric more nearly than usual.

"Circ. A.D. 1142, Geoffrey Mandeville, Earl of Essex, being called, among other of the nobility, to a council at S. Alban's, he was there unduly taken at S. Alban's, prisoned, and could have no liberty till he delivered the Tower of London, and the Castles of Walden and Plessy: being thus spoiled of his holds, he turned his fury upon the Abbey of Ramsey, it being a place of security, and invading it by force, drove out the monks, and placed his soldiers in their room, and fortified the church instead of his castle. The abbot and monks betook them to their arms, and with all the force they could, shot their

curses and imprecations against him and his complices. Thus prepared to his destruction, he besieged the Castle of Burwell, where a peasant shooting him lightly in the head with an arrow, contemning the wound, he died of it, in excommunication, leaving three sons inheritors of that malediction, but of no lands of their father, the king having seized them.

"Arnulph, his eldest son, who still maintained the Church of Ramsey as a castle, was taken prisoner by King Stephen, stripped of all his inheritance, banished, and died without issue.

"Geoffrey Mandeville, second son, was restored by King Henry II., and married Eustachia, the king's kinswoman, but had no issue by her.

"William Mandeville, the third son, succeeded his brother, and was twice married, but died without issue. Thus the name and issue of this sacrilegious earl were all extinct, and the inheritance carried to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, another family, by the marriage of Beatrix Lay, his sister's grandchild."

At the dissolution of monasteries, Ramsey fell to Sir Richard Cromwell, and brought with it the usual penalty attached to sacrilege. But very small traces of the edifice remain.



I shall take occasion from his great name, to enter upon the subject of what may be called architectural miracles, which abound in the works of the monastic historians.

The building of the church at Worcester was not effected, according to the legend, without the opposition of an envious spirit. The wall had already reached a considerable height, when the workmen were delayed by an unexpected difficulty. A stone ready squared for its place lay near the building, and a sufficient number of men went to bring it to its appointed place. The stone remained, as if rooted in the earth, and additional numbers again and again attempted in vain to remove it. All were amazed, and sent to Oswald, and he, too, seeing the numbers who were expending their strength on an apparently easy task, was astonished. And thus he stood, amazed, and calling on God in prayer, when all at once he beheld a black man sitting on the stone, and mocking with impudent jestures at the attempts of the labourers. Then Oswald making the sign of the cross, the imp was obliged to flee, and a few hands raised the stone at which eighty men had before laboured in vain.<sup>1</sup>

ADHELM, Bishop of Shirburn, and founder of the Abbey of Malmsbury, is likewise reported to have wrought a miracle upon a part of the materials of his sacred edifice. The story is told by William of Malmsbury,<sup>2</sup> with some circumstances which throw a little light on the habits of workmen, and may therefore be repeated.

There was already a church at Malmsbury dedicated to S. Peter, but Adhelm, never weary in good works, erected another, within the precincts of the monastery, in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and yet another he built and dedicated to S. Michael, which last, the historian says, yet remained in his time, and surpassed every other building of the same antiquity in England. In order therefore that this church might be the more exquisitely finished, after the stone walls had been erected at the most lavish expense,<sup>3</sup> a vast quantity of timber was brought to-

<sup>1</sup> Eadmerus de vita S. Oswaldi.

<sup>2</sup> Anglia Sacra, ii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Edificandum post lapideum tabulatum sine ulla parsimonia sumptuum.

It has been suggested (in a paper on some anomalies observable in the earlier styles of English Architecture, in the Winchester Vol. of the Transac-



gether at great cost of carriage, the saint himself labouring at the work, that he might render the more acceptable service to his LORD.<sup>1</sup> And now they had come to the fastening together of the beams, which had been cut of the same length, except one, which set the skill of the carpenters at defiance; whether by the carelessness of those who had cut it, or, (as the relater is more disposed to believe,) by the express will of God, that the sanctity of Adhelm might be better displayed, this single beam was found too short for its position. The workmen for a long time hesitate to tell their master; for there was no provision made for such mischances, and it would have been a work of great cost to procure another beam. At length however they tell him, and he receives grace from God to extend the beam by a miracle to its proper length; and then in his earnestness to avoid their praises, he accuses the workmen of having played him a trick, in pretending that it was defective. And now the beam being borne aloft with the pulleys,<sup>2</sup> the roof is completed. It was afterwards reported of this beam, that when the monastery was once and again destroyed by fire, it remained untouched,<sup>3</sup> and at length perished only with the lapse of years.

We may here observe (and with this observation dismiss the subject,) that such miracles connected with the fabric of the church and its erection, are very common in the old legends. It really was, in those days, from the small number of churches,—as it has since become from the greatness of the population,—one of the most excellent of the works of charity to build churches; and as such it would rightly be believed that it was one which the devil would most zealously oppose, and God

tions of the Archæological Institute,) that the words *lapidei tabulatus* are applied to those towers rising in stages from the perpent blocks of stone that run transversely on their four sides: to me it rather appears that the words simply signify courses of masonry.

<sup>1</sup> We have a more tragic instance of an Abbot assisting in the labours of the masons. Reinfrid, the venerable Abbot of Whitby, about 1083, having undertaken a journey on account of

his monastery, and coming to Ormsbridge, where workmen were employed in making a bridge over the Derwent, he alighted from his horse to lend them his assistance, when a piece of timber falling accidentally upon him, it fractured his skull, so that he died soon after.—Charlton's Whitby.

<sup>2</sup> Funali machina.

<sup>3</sup> Bede relates the same of a beam against which Bishop Aidan leaned, when he died.—Ecc. Hist. iii. 17.



most graciously assist. If this consideration induced those who were benefited by the good work to believe the miracles with which it was said to have been attended, let us not condemn their credulity without emulating their piety and thankfulness : and if we are not disposed to admit fabled wonders as proofs of the sanctity of Dunstan, Oswald or Adhelm, let us imitate, or at least reverence what was good in them, and in their deeds of charity, before we despise those who expressed their admiration somewhat absurdly.

The opposition of the great enemy to churches, did not cease with their erection, and the rage of Pagans was often stirred up to destroy the churches of the saints : but there were never wanting some to restore them to their former splendour, and very often the gift to the church would come from the most remote and unexpected sources. The restoration of the Abbey of Croyland, by TURKETUL, afterwards its Abbot, but for a long course of time a high civil officer, may be given as an instance. He is, says Lord Campbell, the first English chancellor with whom we can be said to be well acquainted. He was of illustrious birth, being the eldest son of Ethelwald, and the grandson of Alfred. He was very distinguished for learning, piety, and courage. He held the office of chancellor under Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund and Eldred, and from 920 to 948. It is related that going on a message from the King to Archbishop Wolstan, it chanced that his road lay by the Abbey of Croyland, which had been reduced to ruins in recent warfare, and now only afforded a miserable shelter to three aged monks.<sup>1</sup> Touched by their piety and resignation, he believed himself divinely inspired with a design to enter their society, and to restore their house to its ancient splendour. For this purpose he resigned his high civil office, and like Samuel in a like case, made further proclamation that he was ready to pay all his debts, and to make three-fold restitution to any persons whom he might have injured. Every demand upon him being liberally satisfied, he resigned the office of Chancellor into the king's

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, in the twelfth chapter of his history of the Anglo-Saxon church, gives a graphic account of the ravages

of the Danes on this occasion, which overwhelmed other monasteries besides Croyland.



hands, made a testamentary disposition of his great possessions, put on the monastic cowl, was blessed by the Bishop of Dorchester, and recovered for the abbey all that it had lost in the Danish wars, endowed it with fresh wealth, was elected Abbot, and procured from the king and the Witan a confirmation of all the rights which his house had ever enjoyed, with the exception of the privilege of sanctuary, which he voluntarily renounced, on the ground that his experience as Chancellor made him consider it a violation of justice and an incentive to crime. He survived twenty-seven years, performing, in the most exemplary manner, the duties of his new station, and declaring that he was happier as Abbot of Croyland, than as Chancellor of England. He died in 975.<sup>1</sup>

It is one of the things which give a charm to the pursuits of the ecclesiologist, that some remote church, in itself insignificant, becomes interesting from some peculiarity; and this is well exemplified by the little Saxon church of Kirkdale, beautifully situated in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Over the porch of this church is a Saxon inscription, recording the destruction of a former church, most probably by the Danes, and the erection of one in the reign of Edward the Confessor, together with the name of the builder, of the engraver of the inscription, and the Priest of the church at that time:—more a great deal than we can generally learn about churches erected many centuries nearer to our own time. It is true that the inscription is not now in its original place, (if Rickman's suggestion be accepted,) but parts of the church still standing, may well be referred to the date there ascribed to it. The inscription is on a stone seven feet five, by one foot ten, built into the wall over the south porch, and containing a dial, or, as it would be called in olden times, an orologe. It runs thus, in English: "ORIN, GAMEL'S SON, BOUGHT ST. GREGORY'S MINSTER. THEN IT WAS ALL TO BROKEN AND FALLEN. CHEHITTLE AND OTHERS MADE IT NEW FROM THE GROUND, TO CHRIST AND ST. GREGORY. IN THE DAYS OF EDWARD THE KING, AND IN THE DAYS OF EARL TOSTI." Under the dial are the words, "AND HOWARD ME WROUGHT, AND BRAND THE PRIEST." There is besides a line over the dial, not so easily decyphered.

<sup>1</sup> Lives of the Chancellors, Vol. I.



This inscription fixes the date of Kirkdale church between the years 1056 and 1065, during which time Tosti was Earl of Northumberland. Chehittle and Haward, the builder of the church and maker of the orologe, are among the very few Saxon artificers whose names are perpetuated by a visible memorial of their skill.<sup>1</sup>

We might find notices (though few, if any, so remarkable as this,) of the erection of many smaller churches during the Saxon era, but unless they were accompanied with some description, or other particulars relating to the fabric, they would add little to the interest of our inquiries. Here, then, having brought it to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and the very extreme verge of pure Saxon architecture, we shall close the history of the period; and we shall devote the next chapter to a few general remarks on the character of Anglo-Saxon churches, and on some circumstances originating in those times, which still affect the structure and arrangement of our churches.

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia*, v. 188.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE SAXON PERIOD.

GENERAL REVIEW OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE SAXON ERA :  
 BRIXWORTH, GREENSTED.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONTINUED TO AFFECT CHURCHES AND THEIR STRUCTURE IN AFTER AGES:—MONACHISM. THE DIVISION OF ENGLAND INTO PARISHES :—THE INTRODUCTION OF GLASS :—THE USE OF LEAD FOR ROOFS :—ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH IN PRECIOUS VESTMENTS AND ORNAMENTS :—CHURCH MUSIC :—THE ORGAN :—BELLS :—DIALS AND CLOCKS :—THE BELL-TOWER.—BURIAL IN CHURCHES.

WE might multiply, almost indefinitely, the accounts of churches erected during the Saxon era, but separate accounts add little to our real knowledge of the state of architecture, and the principles of church builders: we shall therefore content ourselves with a general estimate of the number of churches erected in England at the time of the Conquest, and a slight sketch of their architectural features. If we follow Mr. Churton in his calculation, (and we can hardly wish for a better guide,) we shall infer that there were probably before the Conquest about one-third the number of churches in England that there are now, (i.e. not much less than four thousand.<sup>1</sup>) "In Northamptonshire, where three of the old forests are yet left in part, and which was most thinly inhabited in Saxon times, there were at the Conquest

<sup>1</sup> Domesday is a very uncertain guide. "It mentions about 1700 churches, but while 222 are returned from Lincolnshire, 243 from Norfolk, 364 from Suffolk, 7 from the city of York, 84 from the county of Cambridgeshire, and none from Lancashire, Cornwall, or Middlesex: yet it cannot be doubted that all the counties which are passed over without any mention of their ecclesiastical structures, possessed them like those enumerated. This will at once raise the

number of Anglo-Saxon churches existing at the time of the Conquest, not to the extent of 45,011, mentioned by Sprott in his Chronicle, which seems incredible, but to a very considerable number, since certainly the other counties would have a proportionable amount." See a paper by Mr. Harts-horne on some anomalies observable in the earlier styles of English Architecture in the *Archæological Journal* of the early and middle ages. No. 12, December, 1846.



more than sixty village churches, while the county town contained eight or nine—three or four more than it has now. In Derbyshire there were not fewer than fifty, and five at least in the county town. These are exclusive of monasteries and the churches belonging to them; of which there were three or four in Northamptonshire, without reckoning Peterborough. In the town of Newark and the manor round it, including twelve or fourteen villages, were ten churches. In Lincolnshire, which was one of the most populous and thriving counties before the Conquest, there were more than two hundred village churches, a third of the present number, without reckoning those in Lincoln and Stamford, or the monasteries.”<sup>1</sup>

In describing the general appearance of the churches of these times we are in some danger of underrating them, from the prejudice against assigning too great taste or skill to the artificers of remote ages; but with regard to elegance of design, the ability displayed by the Saxons in the decorative arts, such as painting and jewellery,<sup>2</sup> was by no means to be despised, and there can be no reason for supposing that less taste was displayed in their churches, as a whole, than in their minor accessories, or in architecture, than in what are now considered ancillary arts: nor can we read the account of Wilfrid’s church at Hexham, already given, or that in Wolston’s Metrical account of Winchester, without perceiving that then, as now, architecture was accounted so noble an art, as to have painting and sculpture as its handmaids. In size<sup>3</sup> there will be less prejudice against admitting

<sup>1</sup> Churton’s *Early English Church*, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> The costliness of Church furniture was often very great. William of Malmesbury tells us, [*Antiq. Glast. Eccl.*] that Ino, (who died in 727,) caused a chapel to be formed of gold and silver, with vessels and ornaments of the same precious metals within the church of Glastonbury. And for the construction of this chapel he gave 2640 pounds of silver; and the altar was of gold, weighing 264 pounds. The cup and paten were of 10 pounds of gold. The censer was of gold, 8

pounds, and 20 mancusses. The candlesticks of gold, 12 pounds 9 mancusses. The Holy Water stoup was 20 pounds of silver. The images of our LORD, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the twelve Apostles were of 175 pounds of silver and 38 pounds of gold; the altar cloths, and the sacerdotal vestments were all wrought with gold and jewels. The mancus was of the value of 30 pence, and in weight 55 grains Troy.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Willis gives the dimensions of the first church at Winchester, out of Moracius, 209 passus in length,



the claim of the principal Saxon churches; and in constructive skill, and the mechanical contrivances so necessary to the erection of large fabrics, there is no reason to suppose that the Saxons were very inferior to their Norman conquerors. The Romans must have left behind them many practical lessons in the arts of life. The venerable Bede in his many works shows that the sciences were by no means forgotten by the Saxon Monks; and Benedict Biscop and many like him, were continually bringing from foreign countries both arts and artisans, to recruit and stimulate the native workmen. We have found in the legends, so largely quoted above on that account, indirect traces of the use of mechanical powers, in the raising of stones and timber, and even in the moving of very large masses, such as would be called cyclopean, if they were met with in other countries:<sup>1</sup> and it is still more to the purpose that in the turning of the arch, which perhaps supposes as much skill as any ordinary part of the builders' work, and which certainly contains the germ of as much architectural beauty and character as any other feature, we have still remaining proofs of the competent skill of our Saxon forefathers. At Brixworth, for instance, the arches still remaining amply justify all that is said of Hexham, Winchester, or Ramsey, by the old chroniclers. It must be added that crypts almost necessarily involve vaulting of some kind or other, and these are again and again mentioned by contemporary writers<sup>2</sup> and it is more than probable that some traces of those which were frequented by our Saxon ancestors remain, for at the east end of Brixworth there are excavations which have laid bare an ancient fabric which may very well have been a part of the crypt beneath the high altar, and it is at least remarkable that at Ripon and Hexham, two churches founded by Wilfrid, singular

80 in breadth, and 92 in height; from an extremity of the church across to the altar 180 passus. A passus is 5 feet, this therefore must be an exaggeration; but the Professor suggests *pedes* for *passus* which will still leave a large and lofty church.

<sup>1</sup> See the account before given of the building of Stonehenge, and of the

stones used in the foundation of Medeshamsted.

<sup>2</sup> Both crypts and a vault (*fornix*) are mentioned by Eadmer, in the Saxon Church of Canterbury, "Ad hæc altaria nonnullis gradibus ascendebatur a Choro cantorum *quædam cripta* quam Confessionem Romani vocant. Subtus erat ad instar confes-



crypts of very great antiquity, and much resembling each other still remain.<sup>1</sup> All these things considered, we shall be rather disposed to attribute some part of what is usually called Norman work, from the greater skill it evinces, to the Saxons, than to deny them the benefit of any evidence which may seem to assign an ante-Norman date to any existing edifice.

We are besides in danger of not doing justice to Saxon architecture, from the fact that in no instance has any building which probably ranked among their most imposing structures come down to us. Brixworth Church is by far the largest and most remarkable structure in this style, and this was but the church of a remote dependence on the monastery of Medeshampsted:<sup>2</sup> if this be taken as only second or third rate, the finer churches must have been of ample size, and of very considerable dignity of character.

Mr. Bloxam, in his work on the principles of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture, (which is by the way incomparably the best manual in existence,) enumerates sixty-four churches which have more or less Saxon work remaining, to thirty-seven of which he refers from his own inspection. From these we collect that the masonry of the age was rude and massive; that the apertures were small, with round or triangular heads, for doors and windows; with the frequent occurrence in the belfry, of a two-light window, the lights divided by a round baluster. The arches are not generally of large span, and have almost invariably flat soffits. But the constructive feature which has been most generally relied on as indicating Saxon masonry, and that which gives to it considerable character, is the use of what is technically called *long and short work*, or the laying of long stones alternately with their long and their short sides to the surface, either in the angles or on the faces of buildings, in the latter case giving them a little prominence, so as to divide the whole surface into rude panels. This construction is the more remarkable, because it will be found, if I mistake not, to sug-

sionis S. Petri fabricata, cujus *fornix* eo in altum tendebatur ut superiora ejus non nisi per plures gradus possent adiri."—[Quoted from Professor Willis' *Canterbury*, p. 10.]

<sup>1</sup> The crypt ascribed to Grimbald in S. Peter's Church, Oxford, seems from its more elaborate construction to be of Norman date.

<sup>2</sup> Now Peterborough.



gest a connecting link between Saxon masonry, and more than one earlier and later development of the art of building.

That the "long and short work" has an analogy in *visible* arrangement with the rudest construction of buildings with wood is so clear, that it has been likened to "stone carpentry;" and thus it serves to perpetuate the visible forms of a time when wood was the most usual building material. But *constructively* speaking, the long and short work is more exactly analogous with the bonding courses of brick in Roman masonry, for the stones which present their smaller face to the eye are perpend stones running through the wall. In their effect on the appearance of the building, however, these two methods are directly opposed. The Roman courses of brick divide the wall horizontally, the Saxon courses of stone divide it vertically. This is the more worthy of remark, because it is, perhaps, the first germ of that verticality in Gothic art which at last expanded into the spires of Salisbury and Coventry. A comparison of the Roman tower in Dover Castle with that of Barnack or Barton, will at once establish this distinction; and the engaged shaft rising from the first pair of windows in the tower of Sompting Church, to the gable of the highly conical roof, so forcibly suggests the verticality of larger portions in later works, that we must believe its effect was already felt, though it was not fully developed till after ages.

But the most striking contrast between the effect of horizontal bonding courses as in Roman masonry, and of vertical lines, like those produced by the Saxon long and short work, is visible in the Roman fortifications in Norfolk, as compared with the churches of the same district. *To the eye*, the vertical panelling in the churches takes the place of the long portions of the Saxon work, though there is nothing to answer *constructively* to the short portions, (short, that is, as they appear on the outer surface of the wall,) forming bonding stones in the "long and short work." The Roman and the mediæval architects both used flint, the material of the country. The former consulted, most probably, only security, in using frequent horizontal courses of brick between the flint; the latter consulted appearance, and in harmony with their present style of architecture, decorated their walls with perpendicular panellings of ashlar, appearing only on the surface, and the interstices filled



with flint. *Constructively* then there is no connection between the panelling of the later flint churches, and the bonding bricks of the Romans, and stones of the Saxons: but *to the eye*, the Saxons in taking a constructive lesson from the Romans, so modified it as to anticipate in a great degree the character of a panelling used very largely in the fifteenth century.

The comparison of the perpent stones of the Saxons with the bonding courses of brick of the Romans, is the more remarkable, because the use of Roman bricks, or of bricks made after the Roman fashion, was so common with the Saxons, as to be almost characteristic of their style; and yet they never used them for the same purpose to which they had seen them applied by the Romans. They are generally found in the heads and jambs of doors, and in the soffits of arches; but sometimes also arranged in the walls in that peculiar form of masonry which is called *Herring-bone*. The use of Roman brick is generally to be accounted for from the fact that some Roman building was made to contribute its material to the sacred edifice. This was the case, for instance, at S. Alban's, though the date of those parts of the building which now present that appearance does not go back beyond the Conquest. The occurrence of Roman bricks sometimes (though it may seem paradoxical to assert it) affords the clearest proof that the building is *not* Roman, though it may sometimes have been so called; for small portions of Roman mortar, differing from the Saxon mortar in having pounded brick mixed with it, will often be found adhering to the bricks, proving that they are not now used for the first time.

In general outline and pictorial effect, the churches of the first ten centuries were probably all of them low and comparatively unadorned; but there was considerable variety in their appearance. Many had a nave and aisles as well as a chancel, and the latter often terminated in an apse or semicircular projection. Some few, among which Ramsey was one of the most remarkable, had transepts, with the tower at the intersection of the cross; and Ramsey at least, if there were no others so distinguished, had a second tower at the west end. In two remaining instances<sup>1</sup> there are semicircular appendages running

<sup>1</sup> Brixworth and Brigstock, both in Northamptonshire.



up to the top of the tower, and presenting to an eye unaccustomed to such a form a very strange outline. This appendage was probably not unfrequent, and was doubtless intended to facilitate access to the belfry.<sup>1</sup> The tower, that unequalled source of character, was perhaps seldom omitted in the village churches, for the Saxon who possessed five hundred acres of land, if he had a church with a *bell-tower* on his estate, might claim the rank of a Thane;<sup>2</sup> and the number of towers still remaining, leaves no doubt that they were very general: it would be most unjust not to add, that they bear several of them, to be compared, in dignity of effect, with the towers of equal pretensions in later styles. We read also of chapels and separate altars. Perhaps a description of All Saints, Brixworth, as it may have appeared in the seventh century, will be better fitted to convey a probable impression of the character of Saxon churches, than more vague and general references.

The first impression which the sight of the church conveys to one who has only known it from detached portions figured in architectural works, is of its great size; and yet it is now smaller than it was in its original state: the whole of the original aisles, and a great part of the eastern apse having been destroyed. At present it consists of a tower, with a singular semicircular appendage to the west, and surmounted by a Decorated spire; a nave and Decorated south aisle, with a Perpendicular chancel. The insertions and substitutions are numerous and palpable enough, but they leave the following features distinctly visible.

The original masonry of the tower rises at present but a little above the walls of the nave; but it must have been originally much higher, for the semicircular appendage at the west, which is only a stair to the tower, is higher than the remaining portion of the Saxon work of the tower to which it gave access. We may perhaps safely infer that it rose one full story, forming the belfry, above the roof of the nave: that this story had double windows divided by a baluster shaft in each face, and that it was surmounted by a low spire-like roof, covered with shingles. It

<sup>1</sup> At Brixworth it still retains the *cochleare* or winding stair.

<sup>2</sup> See Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 230.



was approached by the stair already mentioned, which is very curious. It winds round a central mass, but to call it a newel stair would convey a very slight notion of its character. It is a spiral vault, having a headway so rude that even a correct centring can hardly have been employed in its construction, and a footway of very gradual ascent, but of the roughest imaginable steps. The outer wall, the inner process, which serves as a newel, the revolving passage, all are one aggregate of rubble. It seems as if it were evolved, rather than constructed, out of unshaped masses of concrete, by the cumbrous efforts of its builders to ascend.

Although this *cochleare* is evidently Saxon, yet it is as evident that it is of more recent date than the tower, for the west entrance to the tower, which, as it was the principal approach to the church, was of considerable size, is contracted into a barely sufficient communication between the tower and the stairs. The tower arch too was curtailed both in height and in width, and over it was introduced a kind of triforium of three arches, with baluster-shafts, opening upon the nave from an upper floor of the tower, which communicated also with the circular stair at about half its height. A clerestory to the nave was also added at the same time, but when that time was there is nothing to suggest: however, perhaps Brixworth is unique in still retaining Saxon remains of two well defined structures. Entering the church, in its later Saxon form, through the tower, the nave, chancel, and presbytery, the latter apsidal in form, extended to a length, exclusive of the tower, of one hundred and twenty-four feet; the approach to the chancel and apse respectively being by a wide and very lofty arch. The altar was raised about six feet above the floor of the chancel, and had an approach from a crypt beneath the apse as well as from the chancel. The apse was lighted probably by three windows, the roof over it was most likely dome-shaped. With respect to the masonry, all the arches were wide and lofty, and all turned with Roman bricks, though the greater part of the walls are of the limestone of the country, and all had flat soffits. The piers throughout were square, that is, portions of wall, rather than pillars or columns, and the imposts as well as the arches were of bricks. A little herring-bone masonry appeared here and there, but no long and



short work. There was not a single moulding throughout, except in the rude baluster-shafts over the tower-arch.

All that has been hitherto said relates to the stone churches of the Saxon era, but we have had frequent mention of wooden churches, and one example of these still remains. As it forms so very curious a link in the ecclesiastical architecture of England, I shall give the account of it at length from the Suckling papers, in Vol. III. of Weale's quarterly papers on Architecture, where it is accompanied with plans and drawings, which add greatly to the interest of the description. The church which the author is describing is that of Greensted in Essex, which he supposes was erected in the year 1013, to receive the bones of S. Edmund, at their translation from London to Bury S. Edmund's.

"The timber walls," says he, "which I take to be of oak, though some imagine them to be of chesnut wood, are but six feet in height on the outside, including the sill: they are not, as usually described, 'half trees,' but have had a portion of the centre or heart cut out, probably to furnish beams for the construction of the roof and sills; the outside or slabs thus left were placed on the sill, but by what kind of tenon they are there retained does not appear; while the upper ends, being roughly adzed off to a thin edge, are let into a groove, and which, with the piece of timber in which it is cut, runs the whole length of the building itself; the door posts are of squared timber, and these are secured in the above-mentioned groove by small wooden pins, still firm and strong,—a truly wonderful example of the durability of British oak.

"The east end has been destroyed to admit access to a more modern chancel, and thus we are unable to determine whether, like most Saxon churches, this also ended in a semicircular sweep. At the west end a way has been cut to the tower; and here I had an opportunity of examining the very heart of the timber: to the edge of an exceedingly good pocket knife it appeared like iron, and has acquired from age a colour approaching to ebony, but of a more beautiful brown; and if any conclusion may be drawn from the appearance of the whole building, I see no reason why it should not endure as long as it has already existed. The outsides of all the trees are furrowed to the depth of about an inch into long stringy ridges, by the decay of the softer parts of the timber, but these ridges seem equally hard as the heart of the wood itself; the north doorway measures only four feet five inches in height by two feet five inches in width. It is generally thought that the wood-work of the roof is coeval with the walls, and it was most likely formerly covered with thatch, as Bede describes, and as may still be seen on many village churches in the county of Norfolk.



"The body of the church is lighted by windows in the roof, but these are decidedly of a recent date; what little light its interior enjoyed in its primitive state, was probably admitted from the east end, if any windows existed at all; but if we consider the lawless state of the times, and the sanctity and consequent value of S. Edmund's bones, it will not be hazarding a conjecture devoid of reason, to suppose that it was illumined solely by the flame of torches."<sup>1</sup>

During the Saxon era many circumstances tended to influence the extent to which ecclesiastical architecture was carried, and to modify the several minor details of character and arrangement, during all succeeding ages. *The introduction of the monastic*

<sup>1</sup> As the perishable nature of the materials renders this a very remarkable instance, we subjoin the grounds on which the author assigns to the church of Greensted so remote a date. "It is a mere log-house, built of the trunks of trees, like those described by the Anglo-Saxon writers, and was originally erected as a sort of shrine, for the reception of the corpse of S. Edmund, which, on its return from London to Bury S. Edmund's, in the year 1013, was, as Lydgate, a monk of that monastery, informs us, conveyed in a chest. In a MS. entitled 'The Life and Passion of Saint Edmund,' preserved at Lambeth Palace, it is recorded, that in the year 1010, (thirtieth of Ethelred,) the body of S. Edmund was removed to London, on account of the invasion of the Danes, but that at the expiration of three years it was returned to Bedriceworth, (Bury S. Edmund's, in Suffolk,) and that it was received on its return from London at Stapleford. And in another MS. cited by Dugdale in his Monasticon, and entitled, 'The Register of Saint Edmund's Bury,' it is further added, 'he was also sheltered near Aungre, where a wooden chapel remains as a memorial unto this day.' The parish of Aungre, or Ongar, herein mentioned, adjoins that of Greensted, where this church is situated, and through which the

ancient road from London into Suffolk passed; and no doubt has ever been entertained that this rough and unpolished fabric of oak is the 'wooden chapel near Aungre.' A tradition has ever since existed in the village, that the bones of a Saxon monarch once rested in this church: and although tradition does in some cases, as I willingly allow, nourish erroneous opinions, yet when, as in the present case, it is found to be divested of all fable, and conforms itself so exactly to the records of history, and to existing monuments of antiquity, it must be granted to afford very strong additional testimony."

Thus far the Suckling papers. Rickman assigns to it a later date, but all his reasons are compatible with that given above. "This church has usually been considered of great antiquity, and from the mode of its construction, it would not be easy to repair it partially. It does not resemble the wooden edifices of Cheshire, and some of the midland counties, but is wholly a wall of upright trunks of trees, so that it may be of a date soon after the Conquest, as at any much later period it would most likely have carried with it some kind of architectural arrangement, from whence a date might be inferred."—Rickman's Gothic Architecture.



*system*, and the effect which it had on church building we have already noticed ; indeed our history has been hitherto chiefly occupied with the foundation and erection of monasteries ; and we have only to add that monastic establishments, including as they do many of our cathedrals, will afford a very large portion of our future materials.<sup>1</sup>

Not inferior in importance, and not long after in point of time, is *the division of the country into parishes*, which has had a vast influence on ecclesiastical architecture. For this important and most beneficial change, we are indebted, as is generally supposed, to Theodore, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 678 to 690. The effect of this arrangement must have been to limit the number, and increase the size and beauty of churches. Before this each great landholder would necessarily provide a church, and a minister, for himself and his tenants ; whereas, under the parochial system, the church would belong to a whole district, including perhaps the possessions of several persons, who would assist in the building and endowment as they were to share in the use of the sacred edifice ; or if a single person erected the church, in consideration of the greater charge, he was justly invested with the patronage. If we take the number of chantry altars<sup>2</sup> in our churches as an approximation to the number of families which might at some time or other have chosen to erect a chapel for themselves and their adherents, we shall scarcely set down the additional number at less than thirty or forty thousand. All these would have been, without parishes, so many inconsiderable oratories : under the parochial system they became decorations of an existing fabric, and an increased endowment, and in many cases separate aisles or chapels, of very great beauty, adding much to the splendour of the parent

<sup>1</sup> Among the signs of the hold which the monastic system had taken on the Church, and among the causes of the splendour of monasteries, may be mentioned the frequent retreat not only of nobles, but of kings, to the seclusion and devotions of a religious order. Ethelred retired to Barding, (about A.D. 700) ; Ceolwulf (A.D. 737) resigned his crown, and became a monk

at Lindisfarne ; Egbert (A.D. 768) lived for ten years under the discipline of his brother, the Archbishop of York. (See Churton, pp. 108 and 232.)

<sup>2</sup> We learn incidentally from the life of S. Wulstan, by William of Malmsbury, that there were already in the eleventh century, eighteen altars in the abbey-church of Worcester.



church. It will be observed, however, that the parochial system did not, till long after the Reformation, prevent the erection of chapels in castles and fortresses, and as parts of the mansions of bishops or peers, who were privileged to retain chaplains in their service. To this modification of the provisions in such cases, we owe many gems of ecclesiastical architecture, as for instance, the chapels in the Castles of Coningsborough and Chester, and in the Bishop's Palace at Wells.

The monastic and parochial systems affected the very existence of churches, and rendered those which were erected under their influence very different from what they would otherwise have been: other things there were which very greatly influenced, and must for ever influence, the development of architectural forms and character, and the details of our ecclesiastical architecture. Among these perhaps the first place is due to *the introduction of glass*,—in the first instance a mere contrivance to admit light, while the external air, with all its unwelcome attendants, was excluded,—but ultimately an element in the size, shape, and construction of windows, in which the several successive developments of Gothic Architecture are more distinctly visible than in any other portion of the fabric. In our earliest buildings the unglazed apertures through which light was received, were necessarily very small, to prevent the intrusion of rain and snow; and, as far as possible, to exclude the winds of our northern clime. The introduction of glass must have led very soon to the use of windows sufficient, which before they could hardly be called, to admit a full light; and the greater apertures of the later Saxon, and of the Norman churches were adapted to these larger windows. After a time the general introduction of stained glass rendered still larger windows requisite; and the greater size which was in the first instance a matter of necessity, that the quantity of light might not be diminished by the density of the medium,<sup>1</sup> became very

<sup>1</sup> Prisdon speaking of the church Ottery S. Mary, says, "Otery church is fair according to the structure of those times whereof the windows little and low are so bedecked with the armouries of divers benefactors, more especially

of the founder, that instead of Lux fiat it may be verified that they are umbrated thereby."—(Trans. Exeter Arch. Soc. Vol. i. p. 40.) One would hardly suspect painted glass of any power over the *brightness of the Gos-*



soon a matter of choice and devotion ; windows now formed a part of the decorations of churches, and they were gradually increased in size, that they might receive more and more of the beautiful creations of the glass-stainer's art, from the narrow Norman lights to the immense windows of Gloucester, York, and King's College Chapel. Many churches have had additional windows inserted in all the intermediate styles, partly at least that stained glass might be introduced in greater abundance : and perhaps its universal introduction in the fourteenth century, may account in some degree for the forms which the tracery of the windows began to assume under the last Edward, and in the hands of the magnificent William of Wykeham ; the parallelograms into which Perpendicular windows are divided being more readily fitted with glass than the more free and flowing forms of the later Decorated.

*The use of lead*, as a covering for churches, also occurs in this era : and this too must be recorded not merely as a fact, but as tending to affect the development of forms, and the future character of our churches. Eadbert, the seventh bishop of Lindisfarne, [A.D. 688—698,] covered his Cathedral with lead. Judging, however, from the representations of churches in contemporary MSS. and in the Bayeux tapestry, we should infer that the roofs were still generally covered with a kind of tile, or shingles arranged like the scales of a fish ;<sup>1</sup> at all events the indirect results of this introduction of lead did not appear, till ages after. The lower Tudor roofs require a lighter covering than the high-pitched roofs of the preceding style, and they found it in the material applied to Lindisfarne in the seventh century.<sup>2</sup>

We have now several accounts of *the wealth of churches* in the sixteenth century, though a very worthy man where his puritanism did not affect his power of reasoning, was of a more suspicious cast : finding in the church of Tarvin, and his own ancient chapel many superstitious images in the windows, which by their painted coats, darkened the light of the church and *obscured the brightness*

*of the Gospel*, he caused all those painted puppets to be pulled down, and at his own cost, glazed the windows again.—See Ormerod's Cheshire, I. 174.

<sup>1</sup> King Eadred proposed to cover the eastern apse of the church at Winchester with gilded tiles, *deauratis imbricibus*. But he died before it was done.

<sup>2</sup> There is one instance in this age



gold and silver plate, pictures, and vestments,<sup>1</sup> a circumstance which also unhappily involves their frequent spoliation, sometimes their destruction. It was seldom, however, that a stript or ruined sanctuary, did not soon find some one to restore it to greater splendour than before; the dissolution of monasteries, and the raids of the Puritans, are the only sweeping acts of sacrilege recorded in English history, whose mischief has never been adequately repaired.

The advance of *Church music* must also be reckoned among the things which materially, though indirectly, affected and must always affect, ecclesiastical architecture. It is true that we hear of no singing galleries, and organ lofts, stretched across noble tower arches, or over the place of the most sacred mysteries, until the seventeenth century;<sup>2</sup> but from the coming of Augustine there have been music and singing, which demanded appropriate arrangements in our churches,<sup>3</sup> and glorious anthems which have brought down from the fretted roofs tones in unison with heaven's own music. James the deacon of Paulinus, at York became celebrated for the success with which he taught Church music, at the little village of Catteric; and far greater men thought not their labours ill bestowed in the same task.<sup>4</sup>

Benedict Biscop brought with him from Italy, John, precentor

of the use of *copper* for roofing, a still lighter material than lead, but in some respects far inferior to it. Among other presents sent from Alcuin to Eanbald, was a cargo of copper, to be used in roofing the bell tower at York, which Alcuin wished to be completed in the handsomest style then known.—Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 189.

<sup>1</sup> The pall, which is a small piece of undyed woollen cloth, worn over the shoulder of an archbishop, has been supposed to have been intended to check the rising vanity of the prelate, when he beheld the gold and jewels, the rich clothes of glorious colours of his archiepiscopal vestments.

<sup>2</sup> In Roman Catholic countries these

desecrations are as frequent and as obtrusive as in England.

<sup>3</sup> A part of the triforium of Gloucester cathedral is still called the minstrels' gallery, and there is a stone gallery separating the choir from the lady chapel at Ottery S. Mary, which had probably the same use. In the Cathedral of Canterbury, as left by Prior Conrad, the organ stood on the vault of the south transept: and afterwards on a large corbel of stone in the same transept.—See Willis' *Canterbury*, pp. 39, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Putta for instance, Bishop of Rochester, when his See had been sacked, took refuge with Sexwulfus, Bishop of Lichfield, and there taught Church music.



of S. Peter's, and abbot of S. Martin's, and with great care caused the brethren of his monasteries to be instructed in the Roman method of singing; nor did the good man fail to reap the fruits of his zeal for the music of the sanctuary: for in his last long illness when he was unable to lift his voice in the song of praise, he would call to him several of his brethren at each set time of prayer, and making them sing psalms in two companies, would himself sing with them, and thus make up by their voices for the weakness of his own. Bede, the worthy pupil of Benedict Biscop wrote a work *de Musica*, and he, too, found wings for his own soul in the hymns of his brethren. "O glorious King, LORD of power,"—they sang in the anthem for Ascension day, (A.D. 735) on which high festival he died,—“who triumphing on this day, didst ascend above all the heavens, forsake not us orphans, but send down upon us the promised Spirit of truth.” At the words “forsake us not” he and all with him burst into tears; but the voice of more cheerful praise yet again broke out at his end; for turning towards the church and resting his head on the hands of his attendants, he desired to be supported in that position, that he might look towards the place where he used to sing, “Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST,” and when he had named the HOLY GHOST, his spirit took its flight.

Nor must we forget how Church music elicited a song, the only one which he is known to have composed, from the lips of Canute the Great. “A ballad which he composed,” says Sir Francis Palgrave,<sup>1</sup> “continued long afterwards to be a favourite amongst the common people of England. It chanced that, when navigating the Ouse, near the Minster of Ely, the sweet and solemn tones of the choral psalmody fell on his ear, and Canute burst forth with his lay—

“ Merrily sung the monks within Ely,  
When Canute, King, rowed thereby.  
Row, my knights; row near the land  
And hear we these monke's song.”

There can of course be no comparison between the music of those days and our own, in artistic character; but we have

<sup>1</sup> Anglo-Saxon History, p. 319.



already the introduction of an instrument which was in time to effect a great revolution in the music of the sanctuary. The first introduction of *the organ* into church services is attributed to Pope Vitalian, who consecrated Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, in 668, but the first mention of an organ in England, occurs in a poem of Adhelm, (who died 709,) *De laude virginum*, in which he describes it as a mighty instrument with innumerable pipes, blown with bellows, and enclosed in a gilded case, and far superior to all other instruments.<sup>1</sup> Among other provisions for the service of his church at Ramsey, Aylwin gave thirty pounds for an organ.<sup>2</sup> In the tenth century, one of enormous size was erected at Winchester: seventy men working alternately in two companies, supplied it with wind. Even this must have been greatly inferior in size, as well as in perfection, to the noble instruments now occupying the loft across the choir arch of our cathedrals, and interposing (whether happily or no,) their huge dark outlines in the view from the western entrance towards the east window. This instrument, which we now by an irresistible association connect with *the edifice* of the church, almost as naturally as the steeple or the bells; and with *the service* of the church quite as constantly as the daily prayer, and the accustomed festival; has deserved this sacred association by the power which it has given to the expression of those high spiritual feelings, which almost demand the language of music,—of a deep and appropriate harmony,—to give them utterance: and we may certainly say that there is no instrument, that there is no easily managed combination of instruments, which can at all vie with the organ as an accompaniment to the religious lauds

<sup>1</sup> “ Si verò quisquam chordarum  
respuit odas,  
Et potiora cupit, quam pulset pectine  
chordas;  
Quis Psalmista pius psallebat cantibus  
olim,  
Ac mentem magno gestit modulamine  
pasci,  
Et cantu gracili refugit contentus  
adesse:  
Maxima millenis auscultans organa  
flabris,

Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,  
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera  
capsis.”—Basnage, tom. i. p. 715.

<sup>2</sup> “ Triginta præterea libras ad fabri-  
candos cupreos organorum calamos  
erogavit, qui in alveo suo super unam  
coclearum denso ordine foraminibus  
insidentes, et diebus festis follium spi-  
ramento fortiore pulsati, prædulcem  
melodiam et clangorem longius reso-  
nantem ediderunt.”—Historia Rama-  
siensis, cap. 114.



and praises, to the deep supplications and moving litanies, which are heard from many accordant voices in the service of the Church. But it has affected *the science* quite as much as *the practice* of church music. Not only has the system of counterpoint been greatly advanced by its use, but the character of compositions for the Church must have been greatly modified by it in many respects not so readily defined. How great must be the difference of the feeling with which a master sits down to compose for such an instrument from the feeling of the same person writing for one of less scope and power; and even were the feeling the same, how much greater the limits within which he may expatiate. He becomes a greater man, working upon a greater scale.<sup>1</sup>

The last thing that we shall mention as exercising a great, though indirect influence on church architecture in all succeeding ages, is the introduction of *Bells* as part of the furniture of the church.

That bells were applied to their present ecclesiastical offices even before the erection of parish churches in England there can be no doubt. Bede, speaking of the death of S. Hilda, which took place at Whitby, A.D. 680, tells us "that one of the sisters named Bega, in the distant monastery of Hackness, while she was in the dormitory, on the night of Hilda's death, on a sudden heard in the air the well-known sound of the bell, which used to call the sisters to prayers, when any one of them was being taken from this world; and opening her eyes she saw as she thought the top of the house open, and a strong light pour in from above. Looking earnestly into that light she saw the soul of the departed Abbess attended towards heaven by angels. She told her vision to the sister who presided over the monastery, who assembled the sisters in the church, where they were engaged in praying and singing psalms for the soul of S. Hilda, when the messengers came to report her death."

Other notices of the use or gift of bells soon became frequent. Turketul, of whom we have already made honourable mention,

<sup>1</sup> The influence here attributed to the organ in elevating the character of sacred music, may be illustrated by the opposite effect of a most wicked

and degrading custom which has obtained in the churches of the Roman Catholics. I mean the employment of *castrati* in the choirs.



gave to Croyland a great bell, called Guthlac, and afterwards six others which he called Bartholomew and Betelin, Turketul and Tatwin, Pega and Bega. "*Non erat,*" says Ingulphus, "*tunc tanta consonantia campanarum in tota Anglia :*"—there was not then such another "ring of bells" in all England. And if not in all England, certainly not in the world, for the English alone have ever known the use of a "ring of bells." Dunstan, who doubtless himself cast them, gave bells to many of the churches in Somersetshire. And bell-ringing made a part of his rule, in the reformation of monasteries; for he directs "that at mass, nocturns, and vespers, from the Feast of Innocents to the Circumcision, all the bells should be rung, as was the custom in England."<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that a rule so congenial to the feelings of the people<sup>2</sup> was pretty generally obeyed, though perhaps we may not find it frequently mentioned. However, in the History of Ramsey we have a story which not only mentions the bells, but connects them especially with the western tower of that church.<sup>3</sup>

Archdeacon Churton tells us that the Bell-rock, now remarkable for its lighthouse, is so called from the bell, which the monks of Aberbrothock<sup>4</sup> tolled to warn the mariner of his danger as he sailed past.<sup>5</sup> At the murder of Thomas à Becket, the bells are said to have rung of their own accord.

<sup>1</sup> Life of S. Stephen, abbot, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bells are sometimes inscribed "*GRATUM OPUS AGRICOLIS.*"

Lingard quotes a passage from Ethelwold to the same effect.

"*Nec minus ex cipro sonitant ad gaudia fratrum Ænea vasa, cavis crepitant quæ pendula sistris.*"

<sup>3</sup> "Quadam itaque dierum cum pedissequo suo ad spatiandum de more exeuntes, ad restes campanarum majorum, quæ in occidentali turri ecclesiæ pendebant, e trabibus accurrerunt. Quarum unam tam diu imbecillium virtutum tenera lacertorum trahentes agitabant, quousque obortam in ea

subito ex motu inæquali fracturæ rimulam malefidus in secretis sonus stridulus indicaret."

Lingard also quotes a passage from Alcuin which shows that the tower at York contained more than one bell.

"*Videtur condignum ut domuscula cloccarum stagno tegatur propter ornamentum et loci celebritatem.*"

<sup>4</sup> "When the rock was hid by the surge's swell,  
The mariners heard the warning bell;  
And then they knew the perilous rock,  
And bless'd the abbot of Aberbrothock."—Southey.

<sup>5</sup> Early English Church, p. 120.



Paul de Caen, first abbot of S. Alban's after the Conquest, furnished the tower with bells. "A certain English nobleman named Litholf, who resided in a woodland part of the neighbourhood, added two still larger and more laudable than the rest. Having a good stock of sheep and goats, he sold many of them, and bought a bell, of which, as he heard the new sound when suspended in the tower, he jocosely said, 'Hark! how sweetly my goats and my sheep bleat!' But his wife procured another for the same place, and the two together produced a most sweet harmony, which, when the lady heard, she said, "I do not think that this union is wanting of the Divine favour, which united me to my husband in lawful matrimony, and the bond of mutual affection."<sup>1</sup>

In later times we still find the gift of bells thankfully recorded. Bishop Hythe placed four bells in the tower of Rochester Cathedral, which he called Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar and Lanfranc. Edward III., about 1347, built for S. Stephen's Chapel in the Sanctuary, a strong clochard of stone and timber, covered with lead, and placed therein three bells, since usually rung at coronations, triumphs, funerals of princes, and their obits. Of these bells some fabled that their ringing soured all the drink in the town; more, that about the biggest bell was written,—

" King Edward made me  
Thirtie thousand and three.  
Take me down and wey me,  
And more shall ye find me."<sup>2</sup>

And we have the following curious account of the once celebrated bells at Osney, in Fox's Monks and Monasteries. "At the first foundation, there were but three bells, beside the Saint and Litany bells; but by Abbot Leech they were increased to the number of seven. The bells were christened, and called by the names of Hauteclare, Doucement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel, and John: all which, for the most part, towards the suppression, being before broken and recast, had gotten new names, which, by tradition, we have thus: Mary and Jesus, Meribus and Lucas, New Bell and Thomas, Conger and Godston; which Thomas,

<sup>1</sup> Buckler's S. Alban's, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's Survey of London.



now commonly called 'Great Tom of Christchurch,' had this inscription not long since remaining upon it, '*In Thomæ laude resono BIM BOM sine fraude,*' and was accounted six feet in diameter, which is eighteen feet in compass."

To these more matter-of-fact materials we might add a great deal about the consecration of bells, and their supposed virtue, but we will turn to a more practical matter, the antiquity and use of the campanile or bell-tower. The use of the bell-tower was recognized in the ancient Saxon law, which gave the title of Thane to any one who had a church with a bell-tower on his estate. Of the equally ancient application of towers to the purpose of hanging the bells, we have an elaborate and most interesting account in Mr. Petrie's work on the Round Towers of Ireland. In England the campanile is generally attached to the church, or at most stands a few yards from it. There are several round towers in Norfolk and Suffolk, which owe their shape in all probability to the peculiar building materials of those counties; but it is worthy of remark that in two of our most interesting Saxon churches, Brixworth and Brigstock, both in Northamptonshire, we have a semicircular tower rising together with the bell-tower, and forming a staircase to it. There are detached bell-towers at Chichester, East Dereham in Norfolk, Glastonbury, and Bruton in Somersetshire, Evesham in Worcestershire, and several other places; and many have doubtless been destroyed, as those in Old S. Paul's Churchyard, and at Salisbury; the latter was taken down at the close of the last century, the bells of the former contribute a chapter to the history and fate of sacrilege.

"In the reign of King Henry VIII. there was a clockier or bell-house adjoining to S. Paul's Church in London, with four very great bells in it, called Jesus-bells. Sir Miles Partridge, a courtier, once played at dice with the king for these bells, staking a hundred pounds against them, and won them, and then melted and sold them to a very great gain. But in the fifth year of King Edward VI., this gamester had worse fortune when he lost his life, being executed on Tower-hill, for matters concerning the Duke of Somerset."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stow's Survey.



Since we can hardly claim for clocks, as separate from bells, sufficient interest, as connected with architecture, to occupy a place by themselves, I shall briefly allude to their introduction in this place.

Sun dials were used by the Saxons, and by them placed upon churches, as appears from the instance already mentioned of Kirkdale Church; but Dante is the first who mentions an *horologe which strikes the hour*, i.e. a clock as opposed to a dial. Dante died in 1321, and before that time we have a curious record of a clock in England. Radulphus de Hengham, who was then chief justice of the King's Bench, was fined eight hundred marks, 16 Edward I., A.D. 1288, for having altered a record, whereby a poor defendant was made to pay 6s. 8d. instead of 13s. 4d. Out of this fine a clock was placed in the clock-house near Westminster Hall, which might be heard by the courts of law. An inscription was added commemorating the event, and conveying a lesson to all future judges: "DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI."<sup>1</sup> And this clock was considered in the reign of Henry VI. of such consequence, that the king gave the keeping of it with the appurtenances, to William Walsby, Dean of S. Stephen's, with the pay of six pence per diem, to be received at the Exchequer. The clock-house stood in a ruined state till 1715, but the clock had given place to a dial, the inscription still remaining.

We also find a notice of a church-clock at Canterbury, and from the price it can hardly have been a dial. "Anno 1292, novum orologium magnum in ecclesia pretium £30."<sup>2</sup>

In Rymer's *Fædera* there is a protection of Edward III. (1368,) to three Dutchmen, under the title, "De Horologiorum Artificio exercendo." And Chaucer (who died in 1400) writes,

"Full sikerer was his crowing in his loge,  
As is a clock, or any abbey orloge."

<sup>1</sup> This case Justice Southcote remembered, when Catlyn, chief justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of Elizabeth, would have ordered the rasure of a roll in the like case, which Southcote utterly denied to assent unto, and said openly, that "he meant

not to build a clock-house."—Anecdotes from Camden Society.

<sup>2</sup> Dart's *Canterbury*, quoted from Daines Barrington's *Observation on Clocks*, in Vol. V. of the *Archæologia*, to which I am indebted for what is here adduced on the subject of clocks.



*The clock* being in all probability a bell, but *the orloge* being certainly a clock, and that too one that struck the hours.

I shall mention one other instance. Richard of Wallingford was the son of a smith, who from his learning became Abbot of S. Alban's in the reign of Richard II. When his fortune had now become considerable, he was desirous of displaying in some work, the greatness not only of his genius, but also of his learning and of his marvellous skill. And to this end he constructed, with great labour, at greater cost, but with art far surpassing both, a clock, the like of which is not to be found in all Europe, for the exactness with which it points out the course of the sun and of the moon, the rising of the fixed stars, and the ebb and flow of the sea. And lest this marvellous piece of machinery should be spoiled by the clumsiness of monks, or by their ignorance of its construction, Richard himself wrote a treatise upon it. This clock continued to go in Leland's time, who was born towards the close of the reign of Henry VII., and who gives the above account of it and of its artificer.

This notice of bells and clocks is not disproportioned to the influence which their introduction has had on ecclesiastical architecture. It is to the use of church-bells that we are indebted for the most prominent feature of almost every ecclesiastical fabric, and that which serves most to harmonize all the parts of a whole, sometimes so vast and almost always so various as a Gothic church. From the low central tower of a Norman abbey, but just rising above the roof, at the intersection of the cross, to the lofty towers or spires of Boston, Gloucester, Salisbury, Coventry, Louth, or Whittlesea, in whatever part of the church it may be placed, the steeple still gives an inexpressible grace and dignity to the whole outline, correcting immoderate length, reducing all minor parts to proportion, giving variety to sameness, and harmony to the most licentious irregularity. The judicious use of the tower or spire is a great part of the secret of the characteristic boldness in minor details of the mediæval architects. The little excrescences of such a building as York Minster, which are now lost in the grand whole, would at once become deformities, if the towers were removed. The Cathedral of Milan is in some respects one of the most splendid buildings in the world; but for want of a steeple of proportionate elevation



it is but a gigantic grove of pinnacles, in which statues seem to have lost their way, and to be wandering without aim and without end. If, as is most probable, the central tower of Fountains had perished before the present northern tower was erected, what a heavy mass of irregularities must that splendid pile have seemed. The tower reduces all to proportion, and makes it once again a whole. Bolton Abbey had also suffered the loss of its tower, and that at the west end was never raised above the level of the nave, and though it is far smaller and less irregular than Fountains, what a long unrelieved length it presents to the eye. What is it which gives such vastness and importance to the cathedral, such grace and beauty to the parish-church, at a distance, but the tower or spire? Nay, what is it but the bell-gable which in mere outline often distinguishes the retired chapel from some neighbouring barn? And for all this we are indebted to the introduction of bells; or if not for the existence of these or the like additions to the beauty of outline in our churches, yet at least for what is a part of their beauty,—their having a use, and being exactly adapted to their use.

The last circumstance indirectly affecting the sacred structure to the close of the Gothic period that I shall mention, is the introduction of the custom of *burying* the more illustrious dead *within the church*. This custom was introduced by S. Cuthbert, in 740. Eadmer tells us how Cuthbert, when he went to Rome to receive the pall, being endowed with great wisdom, obtained from Pope Gregory that all future Archbishops might be buried within their church of Canterbury: for heretofore they had been buried in the churchyard of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, without the city; for the Romans, who were first sent into England, had said that the city was for the living and not for the dead. But S. Cuthbert was grieved to think, that after death he must be separated from his church and his children, that were in life the delight of his affection; at his request therefore, and with the consent of King Eadbrith, it was ordained by the Pope that the Archbishops of Canterbury should be buried in their own church, that they might have their resting-place where they had ruled in honour.<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert himself en-

<sup>1</sup> See Willis's Canterbury, pp. 2 and 45.



joyed this privilege, and so did almost all his successors. And so great was the importance assigned to this privilege, that it altered in various ways the plan and fabric of our great churches, and of Canterbury perhaps more than any other. For a great number of the Archbishops of that See were canonized after their death, and then these places of sepulture became chapels with their separate altars, and all the furniture requisite to their greater honour. And so far had the reverence for their relics and other memorials extended in the time of Anselm, that although Lanfranc, his immediate predecessor, had wholly rebuilt his cathedral, the Abbots Ernulf and Conrad, with Anselm's counsel and assistance, rebuilt the choir on a very much larger scale; and additional chapels and shrines were still perpetually added; and these, with the tombs of the Archbishops, were held of so great importance, that Gervase, in his description of the church as it was before the fire, apologizes for his minute account, not by the splendour or importance of the choir which had perished, but by the necessity of stating the resting-places of the several saints whose bones were preserved within it. We shall see by-and-bye how great a change in the same church was exacted at the rebuilding, by the fact that Becket was there buried: nor can we at all proceed with our history, without mentioning many records of the places of sepulture of great and holy men, whose burial affected the fabric within which it was solemnized. At last it became the custom for Bishops and other persons of importance to erect sepulchral chapels for themselves, during their lives, and these proved gorgeous appendages to the church, though too often at a great cost of general effect: for they interposed their screen-work in all directions; filled up the spaces between columns; cut off the ends of aisles; and left the church without a single uninterrupted vista to any distant part. Thus what at first exacted enormous splendour in the general design, at last obscured the beauty of the whole, and left it doubtful whether ecclesiastical architecture was on the whole indebted to S. Cuthbert for introducing the custom of burials in churches.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE NORMAN PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NORMAN STYLE.—EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—HAROLD AND WALTHAM ABBEY.—WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND BATTLE ABBEY.—GUNDULF, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.—WULSTAN, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.—THREE DUADS OF ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDERS.—ROBERT AND HUBERT LOSING:—WALKELYN AND HIS BROTHER SIMEON:—ROGER AND HIS NEPHEW ALEXANDER.—THE FREEMASONS.

THE style now called Norman was fully established on the Continent long before the twelfth century, and there is every reason to suppose that the English did not wait to receive it as a part of the yoke imposed on them by their conquerors. There had already been sufficient intercourse with the Continent<sup>1</sup> to make it almost certain that any improved style of ecclesiastical architecture which arose beyond the seas, would be adopted here. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR was educated in Normandy, and displayed his partiality to foreigners, and to foreign ways and institutions to such excess, as to excite popular tumults among his subjects. It is certain that he enriched foreign abbeys at the expense of his native land, for he was the originator of the pernicious system of *alien priories*;<sup>2</sup> and we may fairly allow him the credit of having in some degree atoned for the mischief, by introducing a better style of church building,<sup>3</sup> which doubtless

<sup>1</sup> And with Normandy in particular, though this is of little comparative importance, for the Norman type of Romanesque was not confined to that duchy.

<sup>2</sup> Pernicious, not only directly, in depriving England of a portion of its ecclesiastical revenues, but indirectly,

in affording continual opportunities of robbing the Church, and the first excuse for that wholesale sacrilege which was afterwards extended to all ecclesiastical property.

<sup>3</sup> Bosham Church and Westminster Abbey are represented in the Bayeux Tapestry rather as Norman than Saxon



appeared to the greatest advantage in his favourite and magnificent foundation of Westminster Abbey.

The greatness of Edward's reputation was fatal to the fabric on which he had bestowed his last regards. Revered as he was as a tutelar saint of England, he seemed to deserve a better shrine and a better monument than the Norman pile which he had piously dedicated; and this was removed by Henry III. to make way for the glorious abbey which now occupies its site. The foundation of HAROLD at Waltham remains, however, in some of its features, to prove that the Norman style was introduced before the Conquest. Harold, too, had been a traveller in Normandy; and though he was a most unwilling guest at Eu, this would not prevent him from imitating the more gorgeous style of ecclesiastical architecture which was there fully established.

There was already a church at Waltham, with an endowment for two priests, founded by Tovy, standard bearer to King Canute; and Edward the Confessor gave to Harold certain lands on condition of his building a monastery on the spot, and furnishing it with the requisite relics, vestments, and ornaments, in memory of the Confessor and Edith his queen. This grant was made in the memorable year 1066, and Harold at once fulfilled the terms of the grant, rebuilding the original church, which was then consecrated to the Holy Cross, and endowing it as a convent for a dean and eleven secular black canons. Among the ornaments which he gave to the new foundation were seven little caskets (*scrinia*) with the relics, three of gold, and four of silver gilt, enriched with gems; four great thuribles of gold and silver; six great candlesticks, two of gold and four of silver; three large vessels of Greek workmanship, silver, and richly gilded; four crosses of gold and silver, studded with gems; another cross of silver, weighing fifty marks; five suits of vestments ornamented with gold and precious stones; five other vestments enriched in like manner, one of extreme weight and cost; two copes, covered with gold and gems; five chalices, two of gold and three of silver; four altars, with relics, one of gold,

buildings; but too much stress should not be laid on this, for these designs cannot be taken as views, and the

Norman needle would certainly follow the style most in vogue at the court of the good Duchess.



and three of silver gilded; a silver horn; and various other articles.

In this church, thus erected, and munificently adorned by him, "*Harold infelix*"<sup>1</sup> offered up his prayers before his encounter with William, and in this church he was buried within a year of its erection.<sup>2</sup> It thus becomes a national monument of no slight interest, and as an architectural work it is important as the last foundation of any note before the Conquest. In style it is Norman of a very early type. The pillars are cylindrical, with cushion-shaped capitals, deeply indented; and some of the shafts have the same *dancetté* and spiral lines on their surface which are found at Durham and Norwich, which were in progress within the last quarter of the eleventh century, not many years, that is, after the foundation of Waltham.

We may reasonably presume that this part of our history was far from being devoid of church builders, and that their works were numerous and important, not only from the general advance that had been made in arts, and from the comparative repose that followed the reign of Canute, but also from the effects of a remarkable error into which all western Christendom had fallen touching the approach of the end of the world, at the close of the tenth century, followed by a natural return to more than usual activity in the foundation of permanent institutions, when the fear or the hope of the impending doom was dispelled. Mr. Hope, in his historical essay, somewhat overstates the effect of this when he says, that there are more churches whose foundation can be traced to the eleventh century, when people had begun to awake from their fears of a world in ashes to the business of life, than to any other time of equal duration; but certainly we must admit that these expectations of prolonged existence would influence, and did influence many to erect churches, who had hitherto felt that this and every such work was unnecessary; nor must it be forgotten, that the religious bodies when they recommenced their labour of building, were enabled to expend in it that increased wealth, which they owed to the numerous grants which had been made to them,

<sup>1</sup> This is said to have been his only epitaph.

<sup>2</sup> These notices of Waltham are taken from "*Select Views of London*," &c.



*appropinquante mundi termino*—because the end of the world is now nigh at hand.<sup>1</sup>

William the Norman conquered under a consecrated banner, but he respected the churches little more than the civil institutions of his new subjects. In making the new forest he “is reported to have destroyed twenty-six towns, with as many parish churches, and to have banished both men and religion for thirty miles in length, to make room for his deer. And in Lent-time, in the fourth year of his reign, he rifled all the monasteries of England of the gold and silver which was laid up there by the richer of the people to be protected by the sanctity of the places from spoil and rapine, and of that also which belonged to the monasteries themselves, not sparing either the chalices or shrines.”<sup>2</sup>

Spelman, in whose words I have related the sacrilege of the Conqueror, also notes how the Church was avenged, not by her own arm, but by the Hand of God on the spoiler and his house. William was cursed in all his sons. With Robert he was engaged in an unnatural war. On his death-bed he was forsaken by his children, and his funeral was not unattended by fearful signs. All his four children were wretched in their life and in their end. Robert was deprived of his eyes, and then imprisoned by William, till his death; and he had the additional unhappiness of surviving his only son, who was slain *in the new forest*. Richard, the conqueror's second son died also *in the new forest*, from the fall of a tree; William Rufus also *in the new forest* met his death, and on the very spot where a church stood which the conqueror had destroyed, and left no child behind him.<sup>3</sup> “The fourth son” of William, says Spelman, “abstained (as I imagine) from hunting in the new forest, but God met with him in another corner; for having but two sons, William legitimate and Richard natural, they were, in the fifteenth year of his reign, both drowned, with other of the nobility, coming out of

<sup>1</sup> See Mosheim, x. ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Spelman's History and Fate of Sacrilege.

<sup>3</sup> This will appear the more remarkable when it is recorded that Rufus was found dead by one Perkiss, a char-

coal burner, whose descendants, of the same name and occupation, still remain in the new forest.—See Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, Vol. I. p. 146.



France; and himself dying afterwards without issue male, in the year 1135, gave a period to this Norman family."

The Conqueror was not, however, wholly occupied in destruction. For the repose of the souls of those who fell at Hastings, and we may presume for the peace of his own conscience also, he founded the Abbey of Battle, which soon became one of the greatest of our monasteries, and which is in many respects among the most interesting historical memorials in the kingdom. There are, however, many such foundations which we must be content with barely mentioning; and now, resuming the plan which we have so largely followed already, we will pursue our history in the life of some of the most eminent church builders of their time.

In the days of William I. of England lived Gundulf,<sup>1</sup> the builder of the two castles of the Tower of London and of Rochester, and also of the Cathedral church in the latter city. He was a Norman by birth, a man of venerable conversation, a cleric from his boyhood, then a monk, and at length a Bishop; regulating his clerical life by the monastic rule, and adorning his monastic conversation with the dignity of the episcopate. While yet a youth he attracted the attention and gained the affection of William Archdeacon and afterwards Archbishop of Rouen; and the two friends made a pilgrimage together to the holy city, that having visited the places of the Incarnation, Passion, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord, they might ever after have a more cheering recollection of those sacred events. Lovers of the heavenly country, they arrive, after many dangers, at the earthly Jerusalem; they pour forth their prayers on the spot which our Lord had pressed with His feet, and kiss the place where the cross was raised, where He was buried, and whence at last He ascended into heaven.

They suffered much on their return, and Gundulf especially was so worn with travel, that one day his companion left him behind unwittingly, and did not miss him till a nobleman of the party all at once observed his absence, and running back found

<sup>1</sup> This account of Gundulf is chiefly extracted from *Vita Gundulfi, Episcopi Roffensis*, authore Monacho Roff-

ensi coætaneo. Published in *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II.



him unable to stand, and resigning himself to death. The good nobleman took him on his shoulders, and bore him to his companions, by whose care he recovered.

But the greatest peril of the pilgrims was in a storm at sea. In their extremity they vowed that they would assume the monastic habit if they escaped. Gundulf accordingly became one of the brethren of Bec, Herluin the founder being still alive. His virtues were soon observed and rewarded, and he became sacristan of the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Bec, an office of no great rank, but one which he held invaluable for the part that it implied in all sacred offices.

Here sprung up a friendship between Gundulf and a still more eminent man. Anselm entered the monastery in the same year with Gundulf, and was so charmed with his conversation, that it was among his first wishes *he* should be accounted another Gundulf, and Gundulf another Anselm. Anselm, who was more deeply read in the Scriptures, was the more frequent speaker; Gundulf, who had the tenderest spirit, wept most. The one planted, the other watered; the one uttered divine discourses, the other deep sighs. Anselm would sometimes say to Gundulf, "You are always seeking to sharpen your knife on my whetstone, but you never suffer me to sharpen my knife on your whetstone: speak, I beseech you, that I too may profit by you; for indeed so dull am I from the multitude of my sins, that I ought rather to take the place of the whetstone, while you in your earnest and constant devotion continue always sharp, in your contemplation of the divine perfections."<sup>1</sup>

When Lanfranc was made Abbot of Caen, he associated Gundulf with himself in the cares of his new office; and when, after the Conquest, he became Archbishop of Canterbury, because even in secular affairs, Gundulf's industry and wisdom were remarkable, he made him the steward of his household. The reputation of Gundulf, as well for wisdom as for sanctity, increased daily; and at length, through the influence of Lanfranc, he was made Bishop of Rochester, and enthroned (March 19th, 1077) amid universal acclamations.

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the words of Horace, de Arte Poetica, 304.

—Ego fungar vice cotis, acutum

Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.



It would be wrong to conceal the fact that there was something more than a desire to give a worthy Bishop to Rochester which determined Lanfranc in this choice. We have already seen in the time of Dunstan, the commencement of very grievous attacks upon the secular Clergy by the monastic bodies; and Lanfranc, imbued with the spirit of one of the most rigid orders, was bent on hurrying the secular Clergy to their fall. The chapter of Rochester had hitherto been composed of secular canons, and it was agreed upon between Gundulf and Anselm, that in the event of Gundulf's consecration, they should be replaced by a convent of monks. With this understanding certain possessions of the church of Rochester, which had been held by the Archbishop of Canterbury, were restored, and fit preparations were made for the reception of the larger and wealthier body. The old church,<sup>1</sup> which was almost in ruins, was taken down and a new one commenced, the monastic buildings surrounding it at convenient distances; and the work was concluded within a few years, partly by the munificent donations of Lanfranc.<sup>2</sup> When all was done, some of the five Clergy, which was the whole number found there, took the habit, and others being added to them, the number of monks soon amounted to upwards of sixty.

However pure the intentions of such men as Lanfranc and Gundulf must have been, we cannot but observe that this was direct oppression and robbery of one order, for the aggrandizement and wealth of another. It is but one case of hundreds, and it is also a part of a system which was afterwards terribly avenged on the monastic bodies. They enriched themselves then at the

<sup>1</sup> "A bishopric, with a college of secular priests, was founded at Rochester, in the reign of Ethelbert, the Anglo-Saxon King of Kent, soon after Augustine the monk had landed in the Isle of Thanet, and preached the Gospel at Canterbury. The college was endowed with land, southward of the city, appropriately named Priestfield, but its revenue was small. A church was begun to be erected in A.D. 600, and was finished four years after, when it was dedicated to the honour of God and the Apostle S. Andrew. Rochester

was almost destroyed in the year 676 by Ethelbert, King of Mercia, and the city suffered greatly during the invasions of England by the Danes, in the ninth century; but it appears to have recovered its importance in the reign of Athelstan, when there were three mint masters, two who superintended the king's coinage, and one who superintended that of the Bishop."—Winkles' Cathedrals, I. 105.

<sup>2</sup> The greater part of the nave still remains, to attest the excellence of Gundulf's taste and skill.



expense of the secular Clergy, and added the direct sacrilege of appropriations ; and soon their wealth excited the cupidity of princes. The plunder of monasteries had become a regular system in the reign of Henry V., and was, as is sufficiently well known, carried on by several persons, on pretence of founding other religious houses, (the very pretence used for the suppression of the secular Clergy and the seizing of their temporalities,) until the time of the great spoiler, Henry VIII. ; meanwhile the monastic bodies had begun to suffer, at the hands of the mendicant friars, precisely the same attacks on their reputation, which they had so uncharitably cast on the secular Clergy from the time of Dunstan.

The historian of ecclesiastical architecture, however, if he could forget the moral question, and the baneful effects on the spiritual Church of any oppression and wrong, might be disposed to rejoice at the victory of monachism ; for it is certain that we owe our finest buildings to a system which concentrated enormous wealth in a few great fraternities, whose means, and whose requirements all tended to the erection of vast and splendid edifices. Even the villages which were robbed by them of their parson, and of a great part of their wealth, that the "high monastic tower" might soar yet higher, were a little repaid by better and more costly repairs and additions to their parish church, than it would otherwise have had.

The church of Rochester being now finished, Gundulf went with a great procession of monks and Clergy, and with a vast concourse of people, to the sepulchre of the blessed confessor Paulinus the third Bishop of Rochester, and translated the relics to a fit place prepared for them in the new church.

Of Gundulf's demeanour at the sacred services his biographer speaks with deep admiration, but his piety was not dependent on the outward solemnities of public worship. When mass was ended he retired to a secret place, especially chosen as favourable to godly sorrow, for his private prayers : and such a cell he had in all his country houses, where his chamberlain was ordered to deposit his little book of devotions. And there, or anywhere, if perchance he heard any sweet sound, as of singing, or the church bells, he would say, as a sigh broke from him, "What must be the joys of heaven, where God's praise is ever sounding,



when the hand or the tongue of man call forth such exquisite melody?" Lanfranc heard the praises of this eminent servant of God, and was delighted that such a man should have proceeded from his monastery. He often sent for Gundulf that he might have the pleasure of his society, nor did he let him depart empty, but sometimes gave him copes, sometimes precious candlesticks, but always some ornament or other for his church. Gifts indeed poured in from all sides. William Rufus added to the offerings made to the church of Rochester, and especially gave the manor of Lambeth as a compensation for the injuries which the church had sustained when Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux, was besieged in Rochester.

It is sometimes impossible to say whether the Prelates or others to whom our ecclesiastical buildings are attributed, were the founders only, or the architects also of the buildings which bear their names. This, however, is not the case with Gundulf, who was celebrated as an architect in his own day. William I. had employed him in the erection of the white tower in London;<sup>1</sup> and the chapel there, dedicated to S. John the Evangelist, but now used as a record office, is one of the most remarkable remains of Norman architecture. He also restored the castle and the walls of Rochester; and we subjoin the substance of an account of the way in which he became charged with the latter work, from the *Textus Roffensis*, attributed to Ernulf, Gundulf's contemporary, and after the seven years' episcopate of Radulf, his successor in the See of Rochester.

*"How King William II., at the instance of Lanfranc, granted and confirmed to the Church of S. Andrew, at Rochester, the manor of Hedenham, for the table of the monks, in consideration*

<sup>1</sup> Stow, in his *Survey of London*, says, "I find in a fair register-book, containing the acts of the Bishops of Rochester, set down by Edmond de Hadenham, that William I., surnamed Conqueror, built the Tower of London; to wit, the great white and square tower there, about the year of CHRIST 1078, appointing Gundulph, then Bishop of Rochester, to be principal surveyor and overseer of that work,

who was for that time lodged in the house of Edmere, a burgess of London; the very words of which mine author are these: 'Gundulphus Episcopus mandato Willielmi Regis magni præfuit operi magnæ Turris London. quo tempore hospitatus est apud quendam Edmerum burgensem London. qui dedit unum were Ecclesiæ Roffen.' "



*of which Bishop Gundulf built the whole of the stone castle of Rochester at his own charges.*

“ Another benefit, moreover, and not less worthy to be had in remembrance through all ages, did Bishop Gundulf of blessed memory, confer upon them, viz., the castle which is situated in the pleasantest part of the city of Rochester, which he erected in consideration of the royal confirmation to his church of the manor of Hedenham. For Archbishop Lanfranc could not give this manor to the Church of Rochester, as he had determined to do, to furnish the table of the monks, without the king’s permission; because the king’s father had granted it to him only during his own life, when he was raised to the archiepiscopate. When, therefore, William II. succeeded to the throne, he demanded a fine of £100 for the renewal of the grant; which, when the Archbishop and Bishop heard they answered in great consternation, that they neither had so much money in hand, nor knew where they should get it. Now there were two noblemen, friends of both the prelates, Robert son of Haimo, and Henry Earl of Warwick, who, consulting the king’s honour on the one hand, and on the other the good of the Church, proposed to the king, that as Gundulf had great science and skill in architecture,<sup>1</sup> he should erect a stone castle in Rochester at his own charges, instead of paying a pecuniary fine. When this was told to the two prelates, they were still more amazed, and declared that they would rather that the manor was at the bottom of the sea, than that they should purchase the king’s grant on such terms, as would burden the church of S. Andrew with a charge for ever; for if the castle should fall out of repair, the church or the Bishop would be held responsible. The Earl of Warwick was moved to some impatience by this reply, and said, ‘ Hitherto I have held my Lord of Canterbury to be one of the wisest of men, and even now be it far from me to call him a fool, and yet I cannot here discern the proofs of that wisdom in which he used to abound; for surely it would be no great hardship to build a castle at the expense of some £40 at the most, and when the sheriff or under-sheriff of the county, or others

<sup>1</sup> Episcopus Gundulfus, quia in opere cæmentario plurimum sciens et efficax erat.



whom the king may appoint, have certified that the work is finished according to the contract, the king will doubtless hold the Bishop and the Church absolved for ever.' The Archbishop at length consented, and the agreement having been concluded, Gundulf finished the whole, at a cost of about £60."

The castle thus erected is one of the most remarkable Norman fortresses in the kingdom. It is described at great length by Mr. King, in his observations on ancient castles, published in the *Archæologia*,<sup>1</sup> but I shall be contented here with the much shorter notice of it by Rickman.

"The style is Norman, and it presents a fine specimen of the modes adopted at the date of its erection, to enable a very small number within the castle successfully to resist a much greater number of besiegers; for this the access, the various successive gates, and other defences, are admirably adapted. The masonry, in the interior, is very good, particularly that of the well, which is in one of the walls, and was accessible from several floors of the castle."<sup>2</sup>

Gundulf had no taint of feudal violence in his character, though he was the architect of two royal keeps. The last hours of the good Bishop were as touching as his life had been holy and useful. As his health declined, he stript himself of his worldly goods, to enrich his brethren. But his episcopal ring remained, the sign of his dignity, and for this he sought a worthy possessor. There was a priest named Radulf, his friend, and a friend of Anselm beforetime, who came to visit him in his sickness. Holding the hand of Radulf, he slipped the ring into it; and when Radulf starting at the gift would have refused it, as not belonging to his order, Gundulf insisted on his accepting it, saying that it would be useful to him by and by. At the hour of his departure the brethren of his order were around him singing the eightieth Psalm, and as they came to the words, "Turn Thee again, Thou God of hosts, look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine," his spirit departed committing to God the charge of the vine that he had planted, i.e.; the Christian Church which he had brought together.

Anselm having honoured the obsequies of Gundulf with his

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 187, ed. 4.



presence, anxiously turned his thoughts to the election of a worthy successor. His choice fell on Radulf, who then for the first time understood the secret meaning of the gift which he had received from Gundulf.

The merits of Gundulf passed into a proverb, and he was made in after times the rule by which others were judged. Thus of Bishop Gilbert who died 1314, Edmund de Hadenham says, "that we may include all in a word, whatever good and noble works Gundulf had laboured to perfect in his lifetime, Gilbert with equal diligence laboured to destroy." (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 352.) And again of John de Bradefield, who died 1283, he says, "the monks fondly hoped, before his election, that he would prove a second Gundulf, but he was changed into quite another man, and proved himself a follower of Gilbert." (*ib.* 352.)

This history of Gundulf might afford occasion to many profitable reflections. We shall only add, however, that refreshing as it is to read of holiness and devotion in any age, we find in the record of the times to which we have now gone back, so much violence against which holiness had to struggle, so many errors with which devotion was endangered and was tainted, that we may well be thankful for our own happier lot—thankful, but not self-complacent, unless the fruits are proportionate to the milder showers, more refreshing dews, and warmer and more constant suns, under the influence of which we dwell.

The life of WULSTAN,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Worcester, the builder of his own cathedral church, is not less interesting than that of Gundulf. He belongs to an earlier era of British history, though his great architectural work was not commenced so soon as that of Gundulf. Wulstan was born at Long Itchington, in the county of Warwick. His youth was full of presages of his future piety, and in A.D. 1062, he was elected Bishop of Worcester, and consecrated by Aldred, Archbishop of York. He had before been a monk in the monastery of the same city, and was accredited as having already wrought a miracle like one attributed to S. Dunstan, and which we adduce for the same reason, for which that was mentioned—its bearing on the sub-

<sup>1</sup> The authority here followed is the life of Wulstan by William of Malmesbury.



ject of our history. There was a bell-turret being erected on the top of the church, and while the labourers were at work on the scaffold erected for this purpose, one of them fell, but was delivered from his danger by the sign of the cross made by Wulstan in the air. He consecrated his first church to the Venerable Bede, that he might render the first-fruits of his ministry, under God, to the prince of sacred literature in Britain. He built churches in all the farms belonging to his bishopric, throughout the diocese, and did all he could to induce others to erect them on their own estates. At Westbury (from whence it will be remembered that Oswald transplanted twelve brethren to Ramsey), there was already an ancient church, but it was half unroofed and half destroyed: this he perfectly restored, rebuilding the walls, and covering the roof with lead.<sup>1</sup> He was not one of those prelates who displayed their charity and devotion in erecting palaces and country-houses for themselves; and indeed he was not easily reconciled to too costly a style of architecture even in sacred edifices; for he feared lest it should minister more to human pomp and pride, than to the grace of God. This feeling was very visible on the day when he commenced the destruction of the old church of Worcester, which had been erected by S. Oswald, that he might replace it with one of greater splendour.<sup>2</sup> He stood in the churchyard sad and silent, and often uttering a deep sigh, until at last his emotion found relief in a flood of tears. "We, wretches that we are," said he, "destroy the works of the saints, vainly believing that we shall replace them with better. How much greater was S. Oswald, who built this church, than we! How many holy religious men have served God within its walls!" And though those who stood by bid him rather rejoice that God had accounted him worthy to dedicate a fairer church to His honour, he

<sup>1</sup> "Parietes cæmento, tectum plumbo reficiens."

<sup>2</sup> "S. Oswald had completed a church dedicated to S. Mary, in 983, in which there were no less than eight and twenty altars. While erecting this church, S. Oswald used frequently to preach in the open air, to crowds of people, near the cross which had been

erected over the grave of Wifrid, Duke of the Wiccii, in the space before S. Peter's Church. This cathedral was ravaged by the soldiers of Hardicanute in 1041, and it probably remained in a state of desolation till Wulstan commenced a new cathedral in 1084." (See Winkles' Cathedrals, iii. 51.)



still remained in tears, and some say that he then predicted the fire by which, afterwards, the church he was erecting should be destroyed.<sup>1</sup> He finished the new church, however, with the utmost care and cost, so that there was not a decoration which could be mentioned which was not to be found there, so wonderfully perfect was it in the whole and in every part. And that there might be no instance of splendour wanting, he expended seventy-two marcs of silver in enriching a shrine, made by S. Oswald, in which he placed the relics of S. Oswald his predecessor, and of several other saints.

The only parts of the present cathedral of Worcester which can be fairly assigned to Wulstan, are portions of the great or western transept, and the crypt. The former has no characters of sufficient interest to be mentioned here. The crypt is thus described in "Winkles' Cathedrals."

"It is under the choir, and extends from the eastern wall of the greater transept to a point under the tomb of King John, but, if its apse were opened, it would extend to the centre of the eastern transept. Its primary grand divisions are into a nave and aisles, the nave having a semicircular termination, now walled up, and being divided itself into four aisles by three rows of columns, with plain but bold bases and capitals: the aisles of the nave are also subdivided into two each, by a single row of columns of the same description. To the south a second aisle is attached, divided also in the same manner. The vaulting of the whole is very plain, massive, and semicircular, and springs at once from the capitals of the columns before mentioned."<sup>2</sup>

Wulstan was a favourite with the Saxon historians, as one of the great ornaments of their race when it was rapidly passing away; and it is to this partiality, doubtless, that we owe the report of a miracle by which his worthiness to fill the episcopal throne was attested. Lanfranc was disposed to deprive him of his See, as he had done other native prelates, and summoned him to resign his staff, the sign of his investiture. Wulstan came as he was required, to Westminster, and there, before the shrine of Edward the Confessor, whose name was the great watchword of the Saxons, he declared how unwillingly he had first received the episcopal staff, and how readily he would resign it, if it

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 1113.

<sup>2</sup> Winkles, iii. 58.



were the will of God that he should do so. Then striking his staff into the shrine, he exclaimed that to S. Edward who had committed it to his unworthy hands he now restored it. Lanfranc came forward to take the staff, but it refused obedience to his grasp. His attendants tried with equal success: at length Wulstan was intreated to resume the staff, which yielded to his lightest touch. Another miracle is said to have occurred at his death, with the like moral. The ring, which he wore as the sign of episcopal investiture, could not be removed from his finger, and it was buried with him. It is easy to recognize here the spirit of a conquered nation, adhering with a just tenacity to the champions of their old rights, and to all their memorials. It is the same spirit which made the Saxons despise even what was superior to themselves in their Norman conquerors.

Nothing, however, could be more decided than this final victory of Norman over Saxon art. Whether we believe or disbelieve the earlier introduction of the Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture, of its universal adoption from the Conquest downwards there can be little doubt: still less doubt can there be that it well deserved the preference which it acquired. If Gundulf be taken as representing the aggressive Norman, and Wulstan the Saxon, yielding, however unwillingly, we have but representations of the two races in this as in all the other arts of life. The rest of the ecclesiastical architects of the pure Norman period that I mention, I shall arrange for the sake of historic interest in connexion with one another: and the two Losings, of Hereford and of Norwich; the brothers Walkelyn of Winchester, and Simeon of Ely; and Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander of Lincoln, his nephew, will afford three interesting duads.

The Cathedrals of Hereford and of Norwich are indebted for the oldest portions of each to two prelates of the same name, ROBERT and HERBERT DE LOZINGA. The first was Bishop of Hereford, from 1079 to 1107; and according to the authorities collected by Godwin, he was greatly skilled in philosophy, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, and the rest of the mathematics. It was greatly to the credit of both prelates, that he and Wulstan of whom we have just spoken, though of hostile races, were united by the most endearing offices of friendship. Of this William of Malmesbury gives an affecting instance. Wulstan



lay sick at Worcester, his Norman friend was absent on important affairs in the king's courts. The dying Bishop appeared to Losing and said distinctly, "If you would see me alive, hasten to Worcester." The king's consent was obtained, and night and day the anxious Bishop travelled, that he might receive his brother's blessing, and close his eyes. He had reached Cricklade when Wulstan again appeared to him, and said, "You have done all that love could prompt you to do, but in vain, my soul has already left the world; but take heed to your own life, for you shall not be long behind me: and lest you should doubt, behold a sign! when you have committed my body to the earth, you shall receive a parting gift, which you shall recognize as mine." Losing had concluded the last duties to the deceased, and had set spurs to his horse to depart, when the prior, falling on his knees before him, presented the parting gift, saying, "Take, I pray thee, the cloak of lamb's-skin which he who loved you used to wear when he rode out. It will be a lasting memorial of your mutual affection, and may assure you of the protection of the holiness of our LORD." The departing Bishop received the gift with much emotion, and calling the brethren around him, related to them what had passed, and bid them observe how exactly the event agreed with the prediction. Then he went away, and filled alike with thankfulness for the warning, and anxiety for the event, lived till the June following, only surviving his friend five months.

This connecting link between two persons, who are also connected in the course of our history by the zeal and skill which each displayed in the erection of a cathedral, seemed of too great interest to be passed over. We find Robert Losing connected also, but less closely, with the founder of the present cathedral of Lincoln; for Remigius having finished that church, invited Losing to be present at the consecration, which, however, he declined, giving as a reason that he read in the stars certain indications that the day proposed would be inauspicious. He was himself, however, engaged at the very time, in the restoration of his own cathedral, which had been built first by Ethelstan, but had been burnt to the ground by Griffin of Wales. In this work he proposed to himself a foreign model, and the Cathedral of Hereford was erected after the pattern of



that which Charlemagne had built at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>1</sup> This work was brought to a conclusion by Bishop Losing's successor before 1115. To this fabric belong the pier arches of the nave. The west end has been built up in the worst possible taste. In Bishop Losing's design, the nave and aisles which were enriched with arcades and intersecting arches were flanked with square turrets, surmounted by plain spire-like pinnacles. The central door was deeply recessed and richly moulded, and over it were (probably three) round-headed windows,<sup>2</sup> and the high-pitched gable was doubtless surmounted by a cross. In the reign of King John, after the close of the Norman era, Bishop Giles Bruse destroyed the western gable, and carried up a tower to the height of one hundred and thirty feet, over the two western bays of the nave. This tower occasioned by its fall in 1786 the destruction not only of the two bays of the nave on which it rested, but of four arches beyond. The repairs were unfortunately committed to Mr. Wyatt, that indefatigable destroyer of our cathedrals,<sup>3</sup> who unhappily attained a reputation for knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture, at a time when the better spirit of restoring our cathedrals in their original style was first to any degree carried into execution. If Ecclesiology had her Rhadamanthus, Wyatt would now Sisyphus-like be engaged in the endless toil of pulling down all that he ever built up, and building up all that he ever pulled down.

HERBERT DE LOSING bought the bishopric of the East Angles of William Rufus for £1900, and for his father the Abbey of Winchester for £1000,<sup>4</sup> simoniacal purchases for

<sup>1</sup> Eodem ipso tempore quo Remigius Lincolniensem, suam ille de novo construxit (quam nimirum condiderat olim Ethelstanus, sed incendio Griffinus Wallus deleverat, quo tempore ab illo interemptus Leovegarus Episcopus occubuit) et ad exemplar Aquisgranensis a Carolo magno extractæ, efformandam curavit. — (Godwin de præsulibus, p. 480.) I am not able to say how far a comparison of the two fabrics, now or at any time heretofore, would justify this assertion.

<sup>2</sup> For these windows one large Per-

pendicular window was substituted much to the injury of the effect, perhaps also of the stability of the whole composition, in the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See Glossary, Winkles, and the print in the original edition of Dugdale, for the dates and character of this portion of Hereford Cathedral.

<sup>4</sup> "Qua de re," says Godwin, (p. 426,) "sic lusit illorum temporum poeta :

"Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga,



which he was cited to answer at Rome, and was condemned as a penance to build certain churches and monasteries.<sup>1</sup> At his consecration in 1091, he found his diocese without a fixed cathedral: for sometimes the Bishop's throne had been erected at Elmham, in a little church of wood [*in sacello ligneo*] sometimes at Thetford, or at any other place which the Bishop might appoint for the time. This inconvenience he determined to avoid by building a church worthy to be the cathedral of the diocese at Norwich. Having purchased a site in a place called Cowholm, he erected the cathedral at his own cost, and adorned it with all manner of ornaments, dedicating it in the name of the HOLY TRINITY. He built also dwellings for the monks, apart from the Bishop's palace, of which he laid the first stone in 1086, bearing this inscription, "HERBERT, THE LORD BISHOP, LAID THIS FIRST STONE, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST. AMEN." After this he erected a palace for himself and his successors, at the north side of the church, which he is said to have kept separate from the cells of the monks, that their minds might not be distracted from heavenly contemplation by the bustle of men coming and going.<sup>2</sup> He built also other churches

(Simonidum secta, Canonum virtute  
resecta)

Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad  
ardua tentat :

Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta  
volaret.

Proh dolor, ecclesiæ nummis ven-  
duntur et ære.

Filius est Præsul, pater Abbas, Simon  
uterque.

Quid non speremus si nummos  
possideamus ?

Omnia nummus habet : quod vult  
facit, addit et aufert.

Re nimis injusta, nummis fit præsul  
et abba."

<sup>1</sup> If we accept the account of Bartholomeus de Cotton (see Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I., p. 407,) Herbert was a most finished courtier, and a most perfect gentleman. "Erat quippe vir omnium literarum tam sæ-

cularium quam divinarum imbutus scientia, facundia incomparabili, venustus corpore, jocundus aspectu, ut solo visu plerunque a nescientibus quod esset Episcopus deprehenderetur. Mentis quippe gratia radiabat in vultu, et morum tranquillitas corporis officium suo famulatui subigebat." We are not however disposed to admit the monk's apology for the simony of the Bishop. "Mihi tamen videtur, quod excusatur per Apostolum dicentem, *redimentes tempus, quia dies mali sunt* : et per Decratalem qui dicit, quod licitum est clerico emere jus ecclesiæ suæ de manu laici, si aliter habere non possit."

<sup>2</sup> "Ædem cathedralem suis sumptibus construxit, area coempta in loco quem veteres Cowholm appellarunt, et ornamentis abunde instructam, sacrosanctæ Trinitatis nomini dicavit, ac



among which were one on the hill opposite to the cathedral, on the other side of the river; that in the Bishop's Court; that at Elmham; one at Lenniam, and one at Jernemut, all which he gave to the monks for ever. The foundation of the cathedral was laid in 1096, and at Herbert's death the choir with its aisles and side chapels, the transepts and the tower were finished; and the nave, if not of his work, which seems most probable, is at least finished according to his plan. To the tower has since been added, however, pinnacles and a lofty spire; and to the choir a noble clerestory of early Perpendicular character, the work of Bishop Goldwell; and the whole church has been subsequently vaulted. The east end in its original form, that is, as Herbert de Losing left it, afforded a remarkable combination of circular and apsidal forms, the chancel ending in a semicircular apse, and the two chapels attached to its sides being each composed of two intersecting circles, of different diameters, with a round projection at the point of intersection; while another apsidal appendage occurred at the east of the north transept.<sup>1</sup> Of the size of these portions of the church of Losing, perhaps an adequate idea will be conveyed by the fact that one of the side chapels, though a mere appendage to the great mass against which it rests, is now used as a parish church.

The interior, as it was finished by Losing, or at least after his designs, is extremely imposing. Entering at the west, fourteen compartments of the nave, the base of the central tower, and four compartments of the choir intervene between the door and the circular apse. The arches are throughout of

monachis etiam habitacula [seorsim ab Episcopilibus] ædificavit, primo lapide a se anno salutis 1086 posito, cui hæc verba dicuntur incisa:

"Dominus Herbertus posuit primum lapidem, in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen."

"Sibi tum et successoribus palatium extruxit ab Aquilonari parte ecclesiæ, quod a monachorum cellulis ideo dicitur secrevisse, ut hominum huc et illuc discurrentium tumultu, mentes

illorum a coelestium rerum contemplatione non abstraherentur."—Godwin de Præsulibus.

<sup>1</sup> The east of Canterbury, before the fire in 1174, presented nearly the same assemblage of circular forms, but the towers of S. Andrew and of Anselm, with their apsidal chapels, attached to the side of the greater apse, like the chapels of Jesus and S. Luke to that of Norwich, were circular only at their east end.



the heaviest type of Norman, and rest on massive square piers, the edges of which are broken with shafts and pilasters; except where one pair of piers near the middle of the nave gives place to cylindrical pillars, enriched with spiral flutings. The triforium, to which Mr. Hope<sup>1</sup> attaches the same importance in fixing the expression of any church possessed of triforia, with the eyes in the human countenance, is nearly a repetition of the lower arcade on which it rests, except that the zigzag is substituted for the billet ornament in the outer member of the arch mouldings: above this is the clerestory of three arches in each compartment, the middle arch, however, being of three times the span of the outer ones; thus carrying up to the roof, in some degree, the effect of the unusually wide and open triforium arcade.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement, so far as the triforium is concerned, is very characteristic of great antiquity. It is found at Waltham, built, as we have already seen, before the Conquest. It is rather remarkable for grandeur than beauty, and appears with the best effect in the eastern apse. In its original condition a flat painted ceiling of wood panels most probably covered the whole of this vast length; now the roof is groined, and in addition to this change the clerestory of the choir is wholly altered from its original character; but though it is impossible to deny that the present lofty pointed windows, occupying the length and circuit of the choir, with lantern-like lightness and radiance, and the fine vaulting spanning the whole space are exquisitely graceful, it is as difficult to doubt that the circular apse with its three arcades, each of harmonious though less delicate forms, had a beauty of its own which amply sustained the glory of Norman architecture, and give to Herbert de Losing a place second to none among the ecclesiastical architects of his day.<sup>3</sup>

Two brothers, WALKELYN, Bishop of Winchester, and Si-

<sup>1</sup> Description of Christ Church in Transactions of Archæological Institute, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In the naves of Peterborough, Ely, and Winchester, as the latter was left by Bishop Walkelyn, the triforium consists of arches which bear

a very considerable proportion to those of the lower arcade, but they are in each case filled with two subsidiary arches, and their central pillar.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale. Winkles. Glossary. Anglia Sacra, I.



MEON, Abbot of Ely, laid the foundation of their respective churches; the central towers of which had a kindred fate, both falling, probably from imperfect construction, as William of Malmsbury insinuates with respect to the former. The restoration of Ely, after the fall of its tower, will afford one of the most interesting passages of a future chapter.

Walkelyn's work at Winchester which was not limited to the tower, will appear with a new face at the close of the fourteenth century, under the auspices of William of Wykeham. The early part of its history I shall relate in the words of Professor Willis, whose masterly account it would be presumption to attempt to rival, and affectation either to alter or to leave unquoted.

"In the year 1079, Bishop Walkelin began to rebuild the church of Winton from the foundations; and (in 1086) the king was induced to grant him, for the completion of the church which he had begun, as much wood from the forest of Hanepinges as his carpenters could take in four days and nights. But the Bishop collected an innumerable troop of carpenters, and within the assigned time cut down the whole wood, and carried it off to Winchester. Presently after, the king passing by Hanepinges, was struck with amazement, and cried out, Am I bewitched? or have I taken leave of my senses? Had I not once a most delectable wood in this spot? But when he understood the truth, he was violently enraged. Then the Bishop put on a shabby vestment, and made his way to the king's feet, humbly begging to resign the episcopate, and merely requesting that he might retain his royal friendship and chaplaincy. And the king was appeased, only observing, 'I was as much too liberal in my grant, as you were too greedy in availing yourself of it.'

"In the year 1093, in the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England, the monks removed from the old church (*monasterium*) of Winchester to the new one, with great rejoicing and glory, on the sixth idus of April (April 8). And on the feast of Swithun (July 15) they made a procession from the new church to the old, and brought thence the *feretrum* of S. Swithun, which they placed with all honour in the new church. And on the following day the bishop's men first began to pull down the old church, and it was all pulled down in that year except one apse (*porticus*) and the great altar. In the next year, 1094, relics of S. Swithun and of many other saints were found under the altar of the old church.

"The venerable Walkelin, of pious memory, died in the year 1098. He greatly improved the church of Winton in devotion, in the number of its monks, and in the buildings of the house. He caused the tower



of Winton Church to be made as it is still to be seen, and rebuilt it, with its four columns, from the foundations in the middle of the choir. His venerable body is buried in the nave of the church, before the steps under the rood-loft (*pulpitum*) in which stands the silver cross of Stigand, with the two great silver images; and he lies at the feet of William Gyffard, Bishop of Winchester, having over him a marble stone, with these verses engraved thereon:

‘Præsul Walklynus istic requiescit humatus  
Tempore Willelmi Conquestoris cathedratus.’

“When King William Rufus was slain by the arrow of Walter Tirrel in the New Forest, (A.D. 1100,) his body was brought to Winchester, and buried in the Cathedral church, in the middle of the choir. It was laid in the ground within the limits of the tower, in the presence of many nobles, but with the tears of few. Some years afterwards (namely, in the year 1107) the tower fell, which many thought to have been a judgment for his sins; and because that it was a grievous wrong to bury in that sacred place one who all his life had been profane and sensual, and who died without the Christian viaticum—Thus Rudborne: Malmesbury cautiously declines to give an opinion upon this matter, because, as he says, it may have been after all, that the structure would have fallen from the instability of its workmanship, whether the body had been buried there or not.”<sup>1</sup>

The last of our proposed duads are ROGER, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, and his nephew ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, with whom in general history is associated Nigel, Bishop of Ely, another nephew of Roger of Salisbury.

This ROGER, if ancient scandal is to be trusted, was chaplain to Henry I., and commended himself to the good graces of a bad king, at war with his brother, by the rapidity with which he hurried over the service of the mass; and we are constrained to admit that the character of the man was not altogether alien from such submission to the habits of a camp. However, he rose rapidly to favour, and to places of high trust, and used his influence with the king to enrich both himself and his kinsmen. His natural son, Roger, he made chancellor of England, his nephews Alexander and Nigel, Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and for himself he reserved the throne of Salisbury.<sup>2</sup> He was among the first to embrace the cause of Stephen; but if

<sup>1</sup> Archæological Institute, Transactions, pp. 17, 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> “And thus it seems there are other gates to enter into the temple than



the neglect of the claims of the Empress by Roger be accounted a sign of ingratitude to Henry, it was well repaid by the hard measure which he received at the hands of Stephen; a piece of retributive justice with which we should have had no concern, had it not been connected with the bishop's building propensities.

At the beginning of his reign, Stephen had thought it desirable to strengthen himself against foreign invasion, by suffering his friends to build and fortify castles; but when he no longer feared an enemy from without, he looked with jealousy on these doubtful defences of his sovereignty, and determined on discharging them. It is said that 1117 castles were erected within a short space; not a few by bishops, and by Roger of Salisbury more perhaps than by any other individual. On a castle at Devizes he expended enormous sums, and scarcely less on others at Malmsbury and Shirburn,<sup>1</sup> and in addition to this he repaired the castle of Salisbury, and surrounded it with a wall. "In these places," says Malmsbury, "he erected vast edifices at enormous cost, and of great splendour, but all this was merely a matter of degree; it is more important that he is the first who is recorded to have built of *close jointed and carefully wrought ashlar*, with so nice a disposition of the stones, that the juncture escapes the eyes, and the whole masonry deceives one into the belief that it is of one stone. To avoid the envy, and to wipe out the stain of these military works, he founded two monasteries, and filled them with religious (though it does not appear what these monasteries were); and he also restored his church of Salisbury, and greatly ornamented it, so that it was second to none in England for beauty, and far superior to most."<sup>2</sup>

that which is called Beautiful, which, with the other avenues, have not improperly been thus specified:—

"Quatuor Ecclesias portis intrabit in omnes,

Cæsaris, et Simonis, Sanguinis atque Dei.

Prima patet magnis, nummis patet altera, charis

Tertia, sed paucis quarta patere solet."

—Staveling on Churches, p. 182.

<sup>1</sup> Of all these, a few slight remains at Shirburn are all that exist at present.

<sup>2</sup> "Fecit his in locis (inquit Malmesburiensis) ædificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima: ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et tota maceria unum mentiatur esse saxum. Ad tollendam ejus extructionis invidiam (ut loquitur Newbrigiensis) et quasi expiandam maculam, duo instituit cœnubia et collegis



But the antidote was less powerful than the poison: these ecclesiastical works failed to divert attention from his fortresses. The king suspected, or pretended to suspect, the fidelity of the three kinsmen, and contriving a quarrel, seized Roger and Alexander, who were prevailed upon to surrender their castles of Newark, Salisbury, Shirburn, and Malmsbury; but Nigel had fled to Devizes, which he determined to hold against the king. Stephen hastens to Devizes, carrying with him the captive bishops, and Roger, lately chancellor, the son of the Bishop of Salisbury. He erects a gallows in the sight of the castle, and in presence of his father, sentence is passed on the younger Roger, to be remitted only on the surrender of the castle. Nigel, incredulous of the savage purpose, refuses to submit, and the youth is brought out with the rope round his neck, and made to ascend the scaffold. The father, to save the life of his innocent son, takes an oath that he will neither eat nor drink till the castle is given up. The youth descends from the gallows, but the father endures a three days' fast, before his nephew will yield. The castle was destroyed, but not till the king had secured enormous wealth there laid up as in an impregnable fortress; and Roger of Salisbury soon after died (Dec. 4, 1139) of a broken heart, having first offered on the altar of his church, the small remainder of his wealth. The gift was not respected, and Stephen, not the church, was the richer.

ALEXANDER OF LINCOLN, the same whom we have found listening with so great attention to the history and prophecies of Merlin, the builder of Stonehenge, was consecrated in 1123; in the year following his cathedral was burnt down by accident, and he rebuilt it, guarding against a similar accident by vaulting it with stone;<sup>1</sup> as great a benefit to confer as the greater splendour of his uncle's masonry at Salisbury. He built also four

religiosis implevit. Quænam vero ea fuerint, a nemine opinor traditum est. Sed deinde ecclesiam etiam suam Sarisburiensem (Malmesburiensem audis) et novam fecit, et ornamentis excoluit, ut nulli in Anglia cesserit, sed multas præcesserit."—Godwin de Præsulibus.

<sup>1</sup> "Consecratus est Cantuariæ vicesimo secundo Julii 1123. Anno deinde sequente ecclesia ejus cathedralis, nuper constructa et vix dum absoluta, fortuito incendio conflagravit. Quam refecit ille et contra similes casus munivit, laqueari addito fornicato."



monasteries; one for canons regular at Haverholme, another for white monks at Tame, one at Dorchester, and one at Sempringham.<sup>1</sup>

But he bestowed his chief attention on the erection of castles, after the example of his uncle of Salisbury, whose consequent punishment, we have already seen, he in some degree shared. Banbury, Sleaford, and Newark, owed their castles to Alexander. The lesson which Stephen so sternly taught was not thrown away upon him, and he retired from the ambitious turmoils of politics, and the active scenes of warfare, to the business of his see, and the adorning of his church, which he left more splendid than any other in England at that day.

And here, to pass from individuals to a society, I may mention a circumstance which certainly produced a great, and on the whole a very beneficial effect on ecclesiastical architecture in this and many succeeding ages:—the rise of the “FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS” as a guild of builders and architects, with all the advantages of a corporate and exclusive body, defended by papal charters, and supported by the most zealous and talented men of the several generations through which their history extends. The history of this society is obscure, and the absurd pretensions of those who usurp their name in these days, without imitating their usefulness, go far to cast over it an air of ridicule. William Preston, himself a freemason of these later days, says with apparent gravity, “Ever since symmetry began, and harmony displayed her charms, our order has had a being:” a boast which would have been intelligible, though in a literal sense false, in the days of William of Wykeham, because then the order was conversant with symmetrical and harmonious forms; but which is now as absurd as it is of course untrue: it can adumbrate nothing but satire, and assert nothing but what is false. Almost equally absurd is the deduction from the existence of masonry of the existence of masons, *as a guild or secret society*. The same high authority just quoted argues that his order existed in England before the invasion, because there are remains of some stupend-

<sup>1</sup> Godwin and his authorities, p. 284. He was not however in this a free impartor of his own wealth to the church, if Giraldus Cambrensis may be trusted,

who says, “quatuor ex terris ecclesiæ suæ et redditibus, tanquam unum altare spoliando, et alia vestiando, monasteria construxit.”



ous works executed by the Britons before that time; which is no less than to say that men cannot be masons without being freemasons. Among the early patrons of freemasonry in England we are gravely told was our protomartyr, S. Alban, who not only advanced the wages of masons from one penny a day and their meat, to two shillings per week, and threepence for their cheer, but founded a lodge, of which he was himself the president. After this Augustine was grand master in England, and later still S. Swithin,<sup>1</sup> and other great men, (indeed it was impossible to have been pre-eminently great without being a freemason,) and we pass in after generations to such men as Gundulf, Stapleton, Wykeham, Chichele, Henry VII., Wolsey, Gresham, Wren.

All this is provoking, because its pretension to be called history mystifies the whole subject, and leaves us more in the dark than if nothing had been written about it.

With a little more show of reason the origin of freemasonry in England is referred by some to the year 674, or thereabout, when glass was first brought into the country; and indeed thenceforward we trace clearly enough the communication of England with other countries, on all matters relating to architecture; and continental masons, who built *more Romano*, were chiefly employed, at least until they had initiated the natives in the "mysteries" of their craft. This would be perfectly consistent with the existence of a corporate body, such as the freemasons afterwards became; but it would be equally consistent with the less forced presumption that the Romans excelled the English in the arts of life, and that artisans from Rome were consequently in request here.

This however seems to be admitted on all hands, that in the tenth century a body of men calling themselves FREEMASONS, and claiming the right, under a papal privilege, of exercising their craft all through Christendom, and perhaps sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Whether S. Swithin was a freemason or not, he certainly understood the art of making masons work. "He was a diligent builder of churches in places where there were none before, and repaired those that had been de-

stroyed or ruined. He also built a bridge on the east side of the city, and during the work he made a practice of sitting there to watch the workmen, that his presence might stimulate their industry."—Capgrave, quoted from Willis.



rudely enforcing their sole right to be employed in sacred edifices, were known over Europe; and though the unsettled state of this kingdom, while the Danes were yet formidable, would leave them little to desire here, yet probably before the Conquest, and certainly soon after, they were established in England under a local superior, with communication with a head of the whole order:<sup>1</sup> and so well did this system work, so far as the perfection of the art which it fostered was concerned, that the sovereigns of different countries rather gave force to the papal letters, than withstood the monopoly which they created. Indeed practically the masons would remain sufficiently fixed to their own country, the intercourse being chiefly that which would equally benefit all parties, the mutual communication of improvements in the art which all professed.

Such a state of things led at last to jealousies, which reached the royal ear, and in 1424, during the minority of Henry VI., an act<sup>2</sup> was made against the meetings of masons, because by

<sup>1</sup> Hope gives a very picturesque description of the lodge which the masons established for the time, when they were engaged in any great work. "Wherever they came in the suite of missionaries, or were called by the natives, or arrived of their own accord to seek employment, they appeared headed by a chief surveyor, who governed the whole troop, and named one man out of every ten, under the name of warden, to overlook the nine others; set themselves to building temporary huts for their habitation, around the spot where the work was to be carried on; regularly organised their different departments; fell to work; sent for fresh supplies of their brethren, as the object demanded them; often made the wealthy inhabitants of the neighbourhood, out of devotion, or commutation of penance, furnish the requisite materials and carriages, and the others assist in the manual labour; shortened or prolonged the completion of the edifice as they liked, or were

averse to the place, or were more or less wanted in others; and when all was finished, again raised their encampment and went elsewhere to undertake other jobs. Even in England, as late as the reign of Henry VI., in an indenture of covenants made between the churchwardens of a parish in Suffolk, and a company of freemasons, the latter stipulate, that every man should be provided with a pair of white leather gloves, a white apron; and that a *lodge*, properly tiled, should be erected at the expense of the parish, in which to hold their meetings."

<sup>2</sup> "3 Hen. VI. 1424, cap. i. 'En primis come par les annuels congregations et confederacies faite par les masons en leur *Generalz Chapitres* assemblez, le bon cours et effect des estatutes de laboreurs sont publiquement violez et disrompez en subversion de la laye, et grevouse damage de le commune, nostre seigneur le roi voillant en ceo cas pourvoir le remede, par advis et assent susditz et a l'espe-



such meetings it was alleged, 'the good course and effect of the statutes of labourers were openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the great damage of all the commons.' But this act was not enforced, and the fraternity continued to meet as usual under Archbishop Chichele. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother to the regent, and guardian of the kingdom in his absence, took the masons under his protection, and they continued not only to meet in safety, but were joined by the king himself; who, in 1442, was initiated into masonry, and from that time spared no pains to become master of the art. He perused the ancient charges, revised the constitutions, and honoured them with his sanction. The royal example was followed by many of the nobility, who assiduously studied the art.<sup>1</sup>

We may be excused a smile at the vision of king and lords habited in leathern aprons, and engaged with square and trowel, or with chisel and mallet, mastering the art of masonry.

In Scotland the masons had at the same time more substantial privileges perhaps than elsewhere. They were protected and encouraged by James I. of Scotland, who, after his return from captivity, became a zealous patron of learning and the arts. He honoured the lodges with his presence, and settled an annual revenue of four pounds Scots (an English noble) to be paid by every master mason in Scotland, to a grand master, chosen by the grand lodge, and approved by the crown. His office entitled him to regulate every thing in the fraternity which could not come under the jurisdiction of law courts; and, to prevent law suits, both mason and lord, or builder and founder, appealed to him. In his absence they appealed to his deputy or grand warden, who resided next the premises.<sup>2</sup> This jurisdiction was

cial request des ditz communes ait ordene et establi que tieux chapitres et congregations, ne soient desore tenuz, et si ascuns tielz soient faitz, soient ceux qi font faire assembler et tenir ceux chapitres et congregations, si ils soient convictz, adjugez pour felons; et que tous les autres masons qui veignent as tielz chapitres et congregations, soient puniz par emprisonement

de le corps, et facent fyn et raunceon a la volonte du roi.' "

I transcribe this statute from a paper of Governor Pownall's in Vol. IX. of the *Archæologia*, where there are some good remarks on the Freemasons.

<sup>1</sup> London Encyclopædia.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



the same in spirit, as that which Thomas à Becket claimed for the Church, and in a society with less than divine sanction, was most objectionable.

The influence of this society on architecture must have been very great and very beneficial. But it seems more than probable that in individual masons it tended to make architecture more of a *craft*, and less of a *science*. The term "MYSTERY," where it means anything in the theory of such guilds, seems to shroud a little empiricism as well as to dignify a little science: and while it is beyond a question that the order was a mighty architectural corporation, and that it sent forth every where men competent, some to design, and some to execute great works; yet it may be conceived that the great secret of the society resided in the practical way in which many principles after which we are now feeling in vain, and many rules of construction which each man now learns to apply by a mathematical process, were reduced to what is vulgarly, but expressively called "the rule of thumb." We are now measuring, and drawing, and striking circles, and ruling lines, over the plans and elevations of existing buildings of acknowledged beauty, to find the principle of proportions which their architects followed: perhaps they used some general formula, quite unconscious that a soul of beauty resided in it, which refused to be chained to any other form. We are amazed at the constructive science displayed in the erection of the roof of King's College chapel, and should hesitate to intrust such a work to any living architect, however renowned: perhaps John Wastell, the master mason who agreed "to make and set up a good, sure, and sufficient vault for the grete church," and who executed his agreement to the satisfaction of his employers, and the amazement of posterity, followed with the utmost assurance, a rule of which he could not give a philosophical account, but which he was ready to apply again and again to works of every magnitude, from that which he had just finished, down to the canopy of a sepulchral chapel. If there is any truth in this supposition, *the society* rises in our estimation, as *its members* (I will not say sink, but) take a different position: and indeed it is almost inconceivable that the succession of ages between Edward the Confessor and Henry VIII. could have produced a sufficient number of individuals capable



of designing, except with some such helps, the vast number of exquisite buildings which we refer to those times.

It has been observed again and again, that the marvellous uniformity of detail in structures of the same age, is owing to the general diffusion of freemasons, who carried with them everywhere the same rules, the same forms, the same hands and tools to work with. This uniformity is indeed marvellous, but it is sometimes a little exaggerated. There is for instance a clearly national character in our own architecture, which distinguishes it from that of all other countries, both in the general character, and in the details of the buildings of the same age. Let the reader take up Mr. Petit's work on Architecture, and turn over the beautiful sketches, which give the character of the mass with wonderful force: he will at once exclaim, and in almost every instance with truth, This is foreign, this is English, before he has read the names. Again in detail: the Early English, though not exclusively, is chiefly ours. The Geometric we have in common with other countries, and partially the flowing Decorated; but this is deteriorated on the continent into Flamboyant, while it gives place in England to a decidedly different style. Nor are the mouldings and ornaments less distinct in character: there is indeed a general synchronism of like forms, but they are similar, not identical. An Englishman may be proud to say, that in all these instances he is thankful that we have had our own grand master, our own architect, our own masons, our own craftsmen; for certain it is that we yield to no nation in Europe in the beauty, as distinct from size, in the elegance, as distinct from gorgeousness, of our cathedrals and parish churches.



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE NORMAN PERIOD.

S. ALBAN'S.—THE USE OF BRICK.—TEWKESBURY, PETERBOROUGH, BURY  
S. EDMUND'S, S. PAUL'S, S. CROSS, ROMSEY, RYDAL, FOUNTAINS,  
FAVERSHAM, CASTOR, DURHAM, AND BOLTON.—DESTRUCTION OF  
CHURCHES.—WORCESTER, CHICHESTER, YORK, BATH, FOUNTAINS.—  
VIOLENCE OF THE TIMES.—NUMBER OF CHURCHES.—THEIR GENERAL  
CHARACTER.—NORMAN DECORATIONS.

THROUGHOUT the last chapter, the builders of churches have been the most prominent object, though their works have sometimes been partially described. In this chapter we will pay the principal attention to the fabric, not without some slight notices of those with whose names they are associated.

It would be a work of immense labour, and would serve no good purpose, to enumerate every church, even of the first order, which was founded, or received additions about this time, and which still retains traces of the work of the reign of William or of his immediate successors. The following are some of the more remarkable. Paul de Caen,<sup>1</sup> whose name indicates his Norman origin, was the fourteenth abbot of S. Alban's. He greatly enlarged the church. His abbacy extended from 1077 to 1093, and he was succeeded by Richard de Albini, who concluded the work begun by his predecessor, and dedicated it in 1115. The parts of the abbey still remaining, which may be referred to this time, are the central tower, the antechoir, or baptistery, with its aisles, the transepts, six northern, and three southern compartments of the nave, from the east, with its aisles, and part of the aisles of the retrochoir. The style of these parts of S. Alban's indicates their very near approach to the Saxon era, for the baluster shaft, which is usually considered a feature of that style, occurs frequently. Roman bricks also

<sup>1</sup> See chronological table in Companion to the glossary, and Guide to the

Abbey-church of S. Alban, published by the S. Alban's Architectural Society.



are freely used, the old military station affording materials near at hand: indeed a century before Abbot Ealdred had commenced the selection of stones and tiles from the Roman foundations, for the rebuilding of his church. There are also several parts of the work into which bricks, moulded for the purpose, are introduced, especially in the newels of the stairs, proving that the use of bricks was, sometimes at least, a matter of choice as well as of convenience with the Normans, and that they did not account them unworthy to receive some elaboration. In this they followed the custom of foreign builders. The ancient Lombard architects used bricks abundantly, plain, moulded, and carved; and perhaps it is more remarkable that brick is so seldom used, than that it is sometimes found in ecclesiastical buildings in England. Some, for example, I may mention.

The chancel of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Hull, which is of the fourteenth century, is probably the most ancient, as well as the most noble, specimen of ecclesiastical brick building still remaining in England. It does not however stand alone. The churches of King's Lynn,<sup>1</sup> in Norfolk, mostly of the fifteenth century, are in great part of brick. The chancel of Greensted Church, in Essex, of which the nave has been already alluded to as a structure of wood, "is of red brick, and in the style characteristic of the latter days of Henry the Seventh's reign."<sup>2</sup> Of Leicester Abbey, "the most curious portion now existing is the outward brick wall, with an inscription worked into it in brick of a varied colour."<sup>3</sup> In the middle of the fifteenth century, Thomas Millay, librarian and registrar to Bishop Halse, built splendid houses of brick [*splendidas ædes latericias*.—Gul. Whitlocke, Hist. Lich. in Anglia Sacra, i. 454,] for the canons residentiary of Lichfield, at the west end of the pond, in the cathedral close.<sup>4</sup> All these instances are of plain

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that Lynn and Hull are both sea-ports, and may have borrowed a fashion from abroad.

<sup>2</sup> Suckling Papers,—Weale.

<sup>3</sup> Rickman.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Essex, in a paper in Vol. IV. of the Archæologia, has the following notices of middle and late Gothic buildings in which brick is used:—

"Wall tiles, or bricks, were used in some of the buildings belonging to the Priory of Ely in the time of Edward II., and were made in the Flemish manner, but of different sizes, some being twelve inches long, six inches wide, and three inches thick; others, ten inches or ten and a half inches long, five inches wide, and full two



bricks, but moulded brick was used in England as well as on the Continent, and with so good effect that it is surprising its use did not become general. The best instances I have seen are in Norfolk, where the scarcity of stone led to the substitution of this material in richer buildings, as of flint in those where carved ornament was not affected. The rectory-house at Great Snoring, and East Barsham Hall, are very fine examples: the latter especially displaying the power of the material employed, the Gothic details being exceedingly sharp and good, and in point of character fully equal to the best stone work of their day. Both are of the reign of Henry VII. or early in Henry VIII.

It is almost superfluous to add, that the purpose of this digression is to call attention to the use of brick as perfectly consistent with great beauty of design and execution in Gothic architecture. It is a great point to be able to make good use of the materials at hand, if better cannot be afforded, without disproportionate expense, or the sacrifice of some real advantage. Let us bring stone from Caen, if we can afford it; but if not let us build even with the flint or rubble of our country, and if that be too expensive, or the district does not yield it, let us not hesitate to build, with correct designs, of common brick, for a good building need cost no more than a bad one. It must be confessed, however, that in the application of brick to all except domestic purposes, and in the extent to which moulding, or carving, or the variation of the surface by the position of the

inches thick. They were used in building walls at King's Hall in Cambridge, in Edward III.'s time, at which time they were sold from 6s. to 6s. 1d. the thousand, which in those days was a great price. In the twenty-third of Edward III., Edmund Gonville, rector of Terrinton and Rushworth, in Norfolk, began to build a college in Cambridge, on the ground where the tennis-court and orchard of Corpus Christi College now stand, part of which is yet remaining, and is built entirely with bricks. They were used at King's Hall, in the same Uni-

versity, in the time of Richard II., and sold at 6s. 8d. the thousand. In the reign of Henry IV., they were sold at 5s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; and in the reign of Henry VII., we find them mentioned in the accounts of King's College Chapel, by the name of 'wall tiles,' and they were used in the inside of the walls in the upper parts of that building. About that time they became the fashionable material for building, intermixed with ornaments of stone, and have continued in use ever since under the name of bricks."



bricks, or of the colour, by intermixing different kinds of brick, should be attempted, we must go to foreign buildings for our most valuable lessons.<sup>1</sup> S. Ambrogio at Milan, S. Zeno at Verona, and the Great Hospital at Milan, are three excellent examples of the primitive simplicity, the grace of form and colour, and the elaborate finish, of which brick is capable.<sup>2</sup>

The Norman style has now reached its perfection, and until the transition period we should find no changes to mention, even if we entered into a more minute history of works erected between this period and the reign of Henry II. Even for solidity of construction the churches built during the reigns of the two Williams and of the first Henry are by no means universally more remarkable than some later structures. The few names and dates that are here thrown loosely together may serve to connect the early Norman with the transition period, and the History of Architecture in England, with the general history of the country.

Tewkesbury Abbey was built by Robert Fitz-Hamon who was buried in the Chapter-house in 1107.<sup>3</sup> The choir of Peterborough was commenced in 1117 by John de Sais, the transepts were added between 1155 and 1177 by Abbot Waterville, and the nave was finished in 1193, all according to the original

<sup>1</sup> Lord Lindsay has some good remarks on the brick buildings of the Continent. Speaking of the Town-halls, he says,—

“Some of these, as at Padua, Piacenza, &c., are of singular beauty, and, in the north of Italy especially, are frequently built of brick, which the Lombards used with a mastery of which, in England, we have no conception; every delicate architectural ornament is fashioned in this unpromising material, and the richness of effect is marvellous. It was even frequently applied to ecclesiastical purposes; the beautiful Duomo of Cremona, with its adjacent dependencies, is entirely of brick; so are the Churches of S. Francesco at Pavia, and the cloisters of the celebrated Certosa, between that city and Milan. The Palazzo Publico

at Piacenza, and the palace of the Lombard Dukes at Pavia, are of the same material, and rank among the noblest edifices in Italy. Nor must I forget to mention, as belonging historically, and indeed, in political geography, *de facto*, to Italy, the stupendous palace, or rather fortress, of the Popes, at Avignon;—now, alas! degraded into a barrack;—a building by itself in every respect, and the noblest example, perhaps, anywhere extant of the old feudal architecture of Europe.” Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See an admirable paper on the use of Brick, by the Rev. T. James, in the report of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, for 1847.

<sup>3</sup> Glossary.



Norman design, though in some contemporary works the pointed arch had been freely used ; so that this cathedral, with the exception of the west front which is Early English, and the Lady Chapel which is Tudor, or late Perpendicular, presents a very noble and uniform example of the style of the twelfth century.

The church and monastery of Bury S. Edmund's received many additions during this era. In 1032 a church of wood had been consecrated, in place of which a stone church was commenced by Baldwin the first Abbot after the Conquest. Under the Abbacy of Robert, the second of that name (1107—1112) the infirmary, the chapter-house, and the Abbot's hall, were built by the Sacrists ; and between 1121 and 1130, during which time Anselm, nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury of the same name, filled the Abbot's chair, the gate tower was erected by the Sacrists,<sup>1</sup> whose names are recorded, Radulphus and Heræus. About 1180, Sampson, then sub-sacrist, and afterwards Abbot, built the choir, and built or restored the great central tower, and finished the two western towers which were commenced a hundred years before.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fabric of the church was especially committed to the Sacrist : besides these instances here and elsewhere occurring in the text, we may add the following from the *Successio Priorum Ecclesiæ Roffensis*, in *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 392 — 394. Osbern de Scapaya, formerly Sacrist, was made prior (1189). While in his former office he had erected the window at the altar of S. Peter. His successor (1199) Ranulf de Ros, while Sacrist, *fecit bracinum*, and the greater and smaller Prior's chamber, and the stone buildings in the Cemetery and Hostelry, and the grange in the vineyard, and the stable. He also roofed the great church, and covered most of it with lead. William de Hoo (prior in 1239) while Sacrist erected the whole of the choir of the church of Rochester, from the north and south aisles, out of the oblations at the shrine of S. William.

<sup>2</sup> The following curious details are from the *Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond* : " Sampson the subsacrist, being master over the workmen, did his best that no breach, chink, crack, or flaw should be left unrepaired so far as he was able ; whereby he acquired great favour with the convent, and especially with the cloister monks. In those days was our choir built under Sampson's direction, he ordering the designs of the paintings, and composing elegiac verses ; he also made a great draught of stone and sand for building the great tower of the church ; and being asked, whence he procured money for this work ? he answered, that certain burgesses had privily given him monies for building and completing the tower. Nevertheless, some of our brethren said, that Warin our monk, the keeper of the shrine, together with Sampson the subsacrist, had by concert between themselves



In 1127 died Richard<sup>1</sup> Bishop of London, who had expended all his revenues on his cathedral church. Ten years after Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, founded the church of S. Cross in that city; and to him is also attributed the design of the Abbey church of Romsey.<sup>2</sup> In 1139 died Thurstan Archbishop of York, who founded Rydal and Fountains; and in 1154 King Stephen was buried at Faversham, which he had himself founded: and here, at the latest, ends the purely Norman era; although many churches, some of which have been already noticed, were finished during the next reign, in perfect accordance with the designs of earlier founders, so as to exhibit few if any marks of the transition.

In the erection of parish churches that age was not less industrious; and although we have seldom documentary evidence which would enable us to refer them to a particular date, as in the case of cathedral and conventual churches, yet their style often leaves no doubt of the reign in which they were erected.<sup>3</sup> And in some districts there is hardly a single church<sup>4</sup> which has not some portion or other which must be referred to the Norman era.

pilfered some portion of the offerings to the shrine, in order that they might disburse the same for the necessary purposes of the Church, namely, for the building of the tower; being the more ready to believe this when they saw that the offerings were expended for extraordinary purposes by others, who, to speak plainly, stole them. And these before-named two men, in order to remove from themselves the suspicion of such a favourable theft, made a certain hollow trunk, with a hole in the middle or at the top, and fastened with an iron lock; this they caused to be set up in the great church, near the door without the choir, in the way of the people, so that therein persons should put their contributions for the building of the tower."

<sup>1</sup> He is called William by mistake in Collier's Ecc. Hist.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Freeman's paper in the

Winchester vol. of the Transactions of the Archæological Institute.

<sup>3</sup> In one case, mentioned in the Companion to the Glossary of Architecture, the exact date of a parish church is perpetuated by an inscription. On a stone over the south door of the chancel of Castor Church, in Northamptonshire, is the inscription, XV. KL. MAI. DEDICATIO. HUI. ECCLE —A.D. MCXXIII, and the character of the building entirely coincides with the date.

<sup>4</sup> In a visit to twenty-two adjoining churches in the Deanery of Doncaster, in which I was accompanied by J. W. Hugall, Esq., Architect, whose society has doubled the pleasure of many an ecclesiological journey, we found that out of the twenty-two, fourteen had Norman remains; and of four others of Norman foundation, there were sufficient historic notices.



But we must relieve this barren catalogue with one or two examples into which a little historic interest may be thrown. The Cathedral of DURHAM, and the Abbey church of BOLTON in Yorkshire, now in ruins, offer themselves as happily falling in with our purpose.

As in almost every case some account of the patron saint, where he has had a local importance in the neighbourhood, is a necessary part of the history of the church. S. Cuthbert was for some time Prior in the monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, but seeking in a deeper retirement the higher, or at least the more ascetical discipline of an anchorite, he fixed on the Island of Farne, some miles to the south of Holy Island, as the place of his retreat. The more inhospitable the barren rock, the better was it suited to his purpose, and Farne fully answered all that the hermit could desire in its unpromising aspect. No one had yet dared to disturb the evil spirits, which seemed to have made it their home, and which filled it with shapes and sounds of terror. The cell and oratory which he erected there, have been already described, (p. 36,) and in such solitude, and in such hardness, he wore out nine years of his life. His reputation, however, was not buried in the hermitage which he had chosen. In his absence, he was elected, by the council of Alne, to the see of Hexham; but exchanging with Eata Bishop of York, he was consecrated to the latter see on Easter day, 685. His heart was still in the place of his greatest conflicts with the enemy of his soul, and he retired to die at Farne. There he requested that his body should be buried in a coffin of stone which had been given him by the Abbot Cudda; directing however, that if the Pagans should attack the island, the brethren should carry his bones with them in their flight. The monks of Lindisfarne were not willing to lose his body, and at length at their earnest request, he consented that it should be buried in their church, where it was enshrined, (A.D. 687,) at the right side of the high altar.

Nine years after his death, the brethren, desiring to do honour to his remains, would have inclosed them in a small coffer placed above the floor.<sup>1</sup> Instead of dust and dried bones,

<sup>1</sup> Transactis sepulturæ ejus annis undecim, immisit in animo fratrum, ut tollerent ossa illius, quæ, more mortuorum consumpto jam et in pulverem



without flesh, for which they looked, they found his body still entire, his joints flexible, and even his clothes undecayed. They did not however desist from their purpose, but folding the body in a new robe, they placed it *in a light chest*, and laid it on the floor of the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup>

One word in this description of the contemporary Bede seems to have been overlooked, alike by those who relate, and those who would account for a miracle. Sir Walter Scott gives the following metrical version of the future history of S. Cuthbert's body.

“Nor did Saint Cuthbert's daughters fail,  
To vie with these in holy tale;  
His body's resting-place, of old,  
How oft their patron changed, they told;  
How, when the rude Dane burned their pile,  
The monks fled forth from Holy Isle;  
O'er northern mountain, marsh, and moor,  
From sea to sea, from shore to shore,  
Seven years Saint Cuthbert's corpse they bore,  
They rested them in fair Melrose;  
But though, alive, he loved it well,  
Not there his reliques might repose;  
For, wondrous tale to tell!  
In his stone coffin forth he rides,  
(A *ponderous bark* for river tides,)  
Yet light as gossamer it glides,  
Downward to Tillmouth cell.  
Nor long was his abiding there,  
For southward did the Saint repair;  
Chester-le-Street, and Rippon, saw  
His holy corpse, ere Wardilaw  
Hailed him with joy and fear;  
And, after many wanderings past,  
He chose his lordly seat at last,  
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,  
Looks down upon the Wear:

redacto corpore reliquo, sicca inveni-  
enda rebantur, atque *in levi arca* re-  
condita, in eodem quidem loco, sed  
supra pavimentum, dignæ venerationis  
gratia locarent.”—Bede, Vita S. Cuth-  
berti, xlii.

<sup>1</sup> “Et involutum novo amictu corpus  
levique in theca reconditum, super pa-  
vimentum sanctuarii composuerunt.”  
—Ib. xlii.



There, deep in Durham's Gothic shade,  
 His reliques are in secret laid;  
     But none may know the place,  
 Save of his holiest servants three,  
 Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,  
     Who share that wondrous grace."<sup>1</sup>

In a note to this passage, where the same tale is told in prose, the poet accounts for the floating of the *stone* coffin on hydrostatic principles. "He at length made a halt at Norham; from thence he went to Melrose, where he remained stationary for a short time, and then caused himself to be launched upon the Tweed in a stone coffin, which landed him at Tillmouth, in Northumberland. This boat is finely shaped, ten feet long, three feet and a half in diameter, and only four inches thick; so that with very little assistance, it might certainly have swum. It still lies, or at least did so a few years ago, in two pieces, beside the ruined chapel of Tillmouth."

All this would have been unnecessary, had the *levis theca* in which his body was deposited nine years after his death been remembered. Little need be added to Sir Walter Scott's account; it is sufficient that Lindisfarne grew rapidly in wealth and importance, while S. Cuthbert rested there; a circumstance which perhaps attracted the Danes to that retreat of the brethren, and occasioned their flight in 893. The episcopal see continued to be fixed at Chester-le-Street, for one hundred and thirteen years; but the Danes again invaded the repose of the sacred relics, and they found at last an asylum at Durham, a place, says Simeon, fortified by nature, but not easily made habitable, for it was covered with a thick wood, and presented at the top of a rock but a scanty patch of land which would repay the toil of cultivation. Here, however, the monks erected an arbour of boughs<sup>2</sup> for the body, and thence carried it to Whitkyrk, where it remained three years, while Aldwinus the Bishop was erecting a stone church for its repose; which he finished, with the exception of the west tower, which was left to the pious care of Edmund his successor.

<sup>1</sup> Marmion, ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The church of S. Mary-le-Bow, or le Bough, close upon the bank of the

Wear, and within the present city of Durham, is said to be built on the spot occupied by this arbour of boughs.



Once again, however, the relics of the saint were driven from their home. William the Conqueror approaching York with an army, so frightened the monks of Durham, that they fled with their precious burden once more to Lindisfarne. But the panic was soon past, and Durham received a Bishop from the King, together with the restoration of many of the possessions of the Church, which he had unjustly seized.

We are now arriving at the history of the present Cathedral, the three first stones of which were laid August 11, 1093, by Malcolm, King of Scotland, William de Sancto Carilepho the Bishop, and Turgot the Prior of Durham. The name of Carileph is of so great importance in the history of his cathedral, that we shall give the substance of his career as an ecclesiastical architect, from the continuator of Turgot, published in Vol. II. of Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.

William de S. Carilepho, who was consecrated in 1081, was the founder of the present church. His benefactions are thus enumerated. He conferred very signal benefits upon his see, increasing its rents, asserting its liberties, and founding its church. For the old church which Bishop Aldhune had built, ninety-eight years before, having been destroyed, he commenced another of far greater magnificence, of which he laid the foundation on the 11th of August, 1093, according to Turgot; on the 12th of August, 1094, according to the *Durham Annals*.<sup>1</sup> He died January 2, 1096. His attendants would have acknowledged his great benefactions by a sepulchre in the cathedral which he had erected, but he himself (humble in this at least,)<sup>2</sup> would not consent that the ancient custom of that Church should be broken on his behalf, which denied to any one a burial place where the body of the most holy Cuthbert lay: he chose rather to be buried in the chapter house, where all his successors were also buried until the year 1311.

<sup>1</sup> Maxima tamen Sedi suæ beneficia vir magnanimus contulit, auctis fundis, assertis libertatibus, et fundata ecclesia. Diruta enim post 98 annos vetusta, quam Aldhunus episcopus construxerat, ecclesia, aliam longe magnificentiorem inchoavit, positus ejus fundamentis 1093, 11 Augusti juxta Turgotum,

vel 1094, 12 Augusti juxta Annales Dunelmenses. Morte autem prærepto ei opus incæptum absolvere non licuit, laude ista Ranulpho successoris relicta." *Anglia Sacra*, i. 704.

<sup>2</sup> The historian does not make Carileph a pattern of meekness and self-renunciation.



The church not being finished at Carileph's death, the glory of its completion was left to his successor, Ralph Flambard, justiciary of England, a man splendidly notorious for violence and wrong ; but the Church was enriched, while the people were fleeced. He had already, as Camden asserts, restored the church of Twinham, of which he was dean, with great splendour. We cannot follow him through the vicissitudes of a bad life, but when he came to his see he applied himself in earnest and successfully to the work which Carileph had left incomplete, though he was forced to regulate his expenditure on the fabric, by the amount of oblations at the altar and the cemetery : for from this fund he finished the walls of the church to the very roof. It must be added, however, that his predecessor, who commenced the work, had made a rule that the Bishop should be charged with the erection of the church, at his proper costs ; but that the monks should erect their own offices, out of the collections of the church ; which rule was set aside during the three years and five months that the see was vacant after his death. For the monks, leaving the monastic building, urged on the construction of the church, which Ralph found erected as far as the nave. He added also dossels, palls, copes, chasubles, tunics, and dalmatics, to the ornaments of the church. He extended the narrow courts of the monks both in length and breadth. Although the town was strong by nature, he made it stronger and more imposing by a wall. He built a wall reaching from the chancel of the church to the castle keep. He threw open the space between the church and the castle, which was crowded with houses, that the church might be free from all unseemly accidents and from fire. He united the two banks of the Wear with a solid stone bridge of arches. He built a castle on the top of a rock which overhung the river Tweed,<sup>1</sup> that it might be a check upon the thieves and the Scots.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., at Norham, A.D. 1121, as Hoveden says.

<sup>2</sup> Circa opus ecclesiæ modo intentius modo remissius agebatur ; sicut illi ex oblatione altaris et cæmiterii vel suppetebat pecunia vel deficiebat. His namque sumptibus navem ecclesiæ

circumductis parietibus ad sui usque testudinem erexerat. Porro prædecessor illius, qui opus inchoavit, id decernendo statuerat ; ut episcopus ex suo ecclesiam, monachi vero suas ex ecclesiæ collectis facerent officinas. Quod illo cadente cecidit. Monachi enim



In the year 1104 the Cathedral thus begun by Carileph, and carried on by the Monks during the vacancy of the see (the merit of which is doubtless to be ascribed to Prior Turgot,) and almost completed by Flambard, was sufficiently advanced to receive the relics of S. Cuthbert. The 29th of August was fixed on for the ceremonial; but with great reverence the relics were first of all inspected by the brethren, and afterwards exhibited to the people, that there might remain no doubt of the fact that S. Cuthbert's body was still uncorrupted. At night, therefore, they met at the sepulchre, and taking off the stone found a chest, well guarded with nails and leather;<sup>1</sup> and in it another wrapped in a cloth thrice doubled, in which they found the book of the Evangelists, which according to an old legend had been recovered by the saint after it had fallen into the sea; a little silver altar, a chalice of pure gold, an onyx stone, and an ivory comb. In a third chest was the body of S. Cuthbert, lying on the right side to give room for other reliques, among which were the bones of the Venerable Bede, and the head of S. Oswald. The rest of the reliques were deposited in other parts of the church, but the head of S. Oswald was placed between the hands of S. Cuthbert,<sup>2</sup> and, with his body enshrined behind the high altar; Bishop Flambard preaching to the people on the occasion.

The end of Ralph Flambard was what the end of a violent and grasping man ought to be. A month before his death he was carried into the church, and there before the altar he made

omissis officinarum ædificationibus operi ecclesiæ insistunt; quam usque navem Ranulphus jam ædificatam invenit. Addidit etiam ornamentis ecclesiæ dorsalia, pallia, cappas, casulas, tunicas quoque et dalmaticas. Angustias curiæ monachorum porrecto in longum et latum spatio dilatavit. Urbem hanc licet natura munierit, muro ipse reddidit fortiolem et augustiorem. A cancello ecclesiæ ad arcem usque castelli producta murum construxit longitudine. Locum inter ecclesiam et castellum, quem multa occupaverant habitacula, in patentis campi redegit

planitiem; ne vel ex sordibus contaminatio vel ex ignibus ecclesiam attingerent pericula. Diversas Wiri fluminis ripas continuavit structo de lapide magni operis ponte arcuato. Condedit castellum in excelso præruptæ rupis super Twedam flumen; ut inde latronum incursus inhiheret et Scotorum irruptiones.—Anglia Sacra, i. 708.

<sup>1</sup> The same perhaps still remaining, and now or lately in the castle.

<sup>2</sup> Hence S. Cuthbert is often represented in mediæval paintings, with S. Oswald's head in his hands.



a deep confession of penitence, and restored the rights of the church which he had usurped, and its possessions which he had alienated; confirming this act of restitution by placing his ring on the altar, and by a deed sealed with his seal.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1128 and the Bishopric was vacant for five years, all but a month, during which time the monks of Durham finished the nave of the church.<sup>2</sup>

The cathedral may now be called perfect, for although it has to receive several additions, and many enrichments, it is already complete in all its essential parts, as a cathedral and monastic church. As its original features still remain there will be little difficulty in describing it as it then stood, which we will do in the present tense as if we were in the train of Flambard's successor when he took possession of his throne, but without affecting any archaisms of language.

As we approach the city, we see first rising out from among the trees the castle keep, and the three towers of the church; and already we hear the bells pealing from the central tower, welcoming us to our new home. But there is yet some space to traverse, and with hearty thanks to Flambard for his bridge of stone we pass the Wear, and wind upwards towards the cathedral.

This mighty pile stands on the brow of a precipice, beneath which to the west the river turns the abbey mill. On all other sides it is surrounded by the Priory and its several offices. The church itself has a nave and choir, both with side aisles; but the transepts have aisles only to the east. The choir is much shorter than the nave, and the east end terminates in a semicircular apse.<sup>3</sup>

We approach by the north and find the space before the church cleared of unseemly obstructions by Flambard, so that the whole extent of the cathedral opens upon us in all its magnificence. The length of the nave, transepts, and choir, with

<sup>1</sup> Per annulum altari impositum omnia restituit Ecclesiæ ablata; cartaque sua et sigillo confirmavit restituta.

<sup>2</sup> Vacavitque Episcopatus per quinquennium excepto uno mense. Eo

tempore navis Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis Monachis operi instantibus peracta est.

<sup>3</sup> This however is conjecture; the east end, whatever it was, having given place to the nine altars.



their aisles, is relieved by the two western towers, which rise just above the roof, and by the greater mass, though the height is but little more, of the central tower, which gives variety and harmony to the whole ; and while the tower seems to be held aloft by the giant arms of the nave, choir, and transepts, they in their turn receive support from their aisles. It is some time before we obtain sufficient self-command to attend to the details of so vast a pile, but on a closer inspection we find these equal to the general design. Around all is carried, next the ground, a blank arcade of semicircular arches resting on clustered columns. Above these are the aisle windows, each of one round-headed light, with engaged shafts in the jambs, and a triforium of the same character, but the windows considerably smaller.

The buttresses between the several bays of the aisle are plain and shallow, and die in the wall at the bottom of the triforium, instead of being carried, as is perhaps more usual, (and is the case here with the clerestory) into the corbel-table. The clerestory has also its round-headed lights with shafts in the jambs, and the whole terminates in a high-pitched roof, [most probably] of shingles, to be replaced with lead by some future benefactor. The transept is flanked with huge buttress-like projections, which rise into turrets above the roof, and like all the rest of the building is pierced only with single-light round-headed windows : but the gable is enriched with an arcade of semicircular intersecting arches, above which it is finished with a kind of reticulated masonry, with which large surfaces of wall are often covered. The western towers and the great central tower are also decorated with arcades and pierced with round-headed lights ; and they are capped with high-pitched roofs, like those of the body of the church covered with shingles, and surmounted by weathercocks. The Bishop entered at the west, by a path on the brow of the rock, winding close round the corner of the church, but the north door is worthy to receive its portion of the coming train. It occupies the last bay but one westward, and is of several orders of receding masonry, each richly decorated, beneath a high pediment, crowned with a cross. As we enter, the grandeur of the nave is almost beyond expression. The piers are alternately cylindrical and clustered, the former enriched with reticulations or chevrons indented in their surface, and all of



great solidity. The bases are square and almost plain, the capitals of the heaviest form admissible into a building of any enrichment. The arches are semicircular, and enriched with the zigzag and billet mouldings. Each compartment of the triforium opens into the nave by two arches within a single larger arch; and each clerestory compartment is of three arches, the central one much higher than the others. The roof is not yet vaulted, though it will doubtless soon receive this more perfect covering. The aisles were vaulted; from the beginning and around their walls, below the windows, runs an arcade, of intersecting arches. And all this is repeated through a length of four hundred feet. But mere size is but a small part of the beauty of such a structure, which consists at least equally in a happy combination of variety and uniformity, and these characters are here most happily blended. The uniform recurrence of the circular arch everywhere with the general similarity of design through nave and choir, with the liberal use of the chevron moulding, that most effective of all decorations, ensures sufficient harmony and uniformity; while the variations in the sections of the piers, and the three arcades rising above one another, the first of single, the next of double, and the third of triple arches, afford abundant variety.

Nor must the dim light admitted everywhere through small windows, filled with stained glass,—and the shrine of S. Cuthbert resplendent with jewels,—and the light of many lamps,—and the high altar with its costly furniture, be forgotten: and then shall we confess that S. Cuthbert has found at last a worthy resting place on the heights of Durham.

The monks indeed have thought something less of their own than of their patron's honour, they are yet without a chapter-house which our good lord and father has promised to build.

But here we return to the language of history. During the episcopate of Godfrey, Flambard's successor, which extended to 1140, the chapter-house was finished.<sup>1</sup> At his death he gave many ornaments to the cathedral, but grievous storms broke

<sup>1</sup> "The original and fine Norman chapter-house was wantonly destroyed by Mr. Wyatt and the officers of the Cathedral, in 1800, and a modern room

built on its site. Mr. Carter remonstrated strongly against this destruction, but in vain."—Companion to Glossary.



over the church and kingdom at this juncture,<sup>1</sup> and although they did not affect the cathedral itself, yet as they afford examples of the kind of violence to which churches were in those days sometimes exposed, we must slightly allude to them.

The kingdom was now agitated by the contending claims of Stephen and the empress Maud, and in the north especially, owing to the neighbourhood of Scotland, whose king, David, had espoused the cause of his niece, the scale visibly inclined against Stephen.

While Godfrey was in his last illness, William Comyn, chancellor of the Scotch king, who had been in days past one of Godfrey's priests, being on a visit at Durham, caballed with some of the clergy, and with the guard of the castle, that they should deliver up the castle to him, on the death of the Bishop, carefully excluding the prior and the archdeacons from the secret. Godfrey died while William was gone to the Scotch king, to obtain, through his influence, the episcopate so soon to be vacant; and the next night his body was disembowelled and covered with salt, because it could not otherwise be kept unburied. Meanwhile the prior and the archdeacon who were not admitted to the councils of the usurper, were kept out of the castle, and the bishop's death was concealed for three weeks.<sup>2</sup> But the truth began to be whispered abroad, and they gave up the body as if just dead, and on the next Sunday William returned. It is too long and not sufficiently to the purpose to tell how he endeavoured in vain to procure his election to the bishopric. Meanwhile messengers, who had been sent to Rome with tidings of the violence and fraud of William, returned with orders that the chapter should proceed to the election of a prelate, and that if they could not assemble in the cathedral, they should conclude the good work in some neighbouring place. William de S. Barba was finally elected, and after a composition with William Comyn enthroned in the cathedral (October 18th,

<sup>1</sup> "Ipsius tempore Capitulum Monachorum, quale hodie cernitur, inchoatum et consummatum est. Obiit Gaufridus Episcopus. Moriens vero ornamenta Ecclesiæ non mediocria contulit; sed in ipsius obitu contigit

Ecclesiam gravissimas tempestates incurrere."—*Anglia Sacra*, i. 709.

<sup>2</sup> He died *Die Rogationum secunda*, sc. *feria tertia*: his death was kept secret *usque sextam feriam*.



1144.) The nine years of William's episcopate were scarcely sufficient to repair the damage done by the violence of Comyn, who ravaged the possessions of the see, cut off its retainers, and converted churches into garrisons, at his pleasure. Hugh Pudsey succeeded under better auspices, and emulating the care of his predecessors to adorn the cathedral, he set himself in earnest to the same task. He commenced therefore a new work at the east end of the church, bases and columns of marble were brought from beyond the sea; many masters [master masons?] were successively engaged in the work not without danger to themselves, for the Fates were opposed to the work, and as many beginnings were made as there were masters; and so, great sums having been expended in workmen, the walls at length had reached a considerable height, when great cracks appeared, and showed that the work was not pleasing to God, and to His servant S. Cuthbert. Leaving this work therefore, the Bishop began another at the west, to which women might be admitted, so that those who were not allowed a bodily approach to the more secret portions<sup>1</sup> of the sacred places, might be consoled by seeing them from a distance.<sup>2</sup> He suspended also, in the church, before the altar, three silver lanterns, with silver sconces, intermixed with glass, in which tapers might burn night and day, in honour of S. Cuthbert, and of the relics; and he placed others around the altar, like a crown, upon a candelabrum, by which the church might be lighted on the greater festivals. He made also a shrine of gold and silver, unto which he transferred the bones of the Venerable Bede, which was put together with so

<sup>1</sup> Women were not allowed to approach the shrine of S. Cuthbert. There still remains, on the pavement of the church, a great cross, indicating the nearest approach which was allowed to them.

<sup>2</sup> "Novum ergo ad Orientalem hujus ecclesiæ plagam opus construere cœpit. A transmarinis partibus deferbantur columnæ et bases marmoreæ. Cumque plures non sine ipsorum periculo fatis intercedentibus admitterentur magistri, et tot haberet principia

quot magistros; sumptibus copiosis in operarios impensis, et muris in aliquam vix altitudinem erectis, in rimas tandem deficiens, manifestum dabat indicium id Deo et famulo suo S. Cuthberto non fuisse acceptum. Omisso itaque opere illo, aliud ad Occidentem inchoavit; in quo muliebris licite fieret introitus; ut qui non habebant ad secretiora sanctorum locorum corporalem accessum, aliquod haberent ex eorum contemplatione solatium."—*Anglia Sacra*, i. 722.



great skill that it was a doubt whether it was most remarkable for its workmanship, or for its splendour. Nor was he less worthy to be celebrated for the ornaments of gold and silver,<sup>1</sup> the cross and the chalice which he gave, ever bearing in mind the words of the psalm, *Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ*.

Few foundations of this, or of any age are associated with more interesting circumstances, than that of Bolton; and the great beauty of the remains, wedded as they are to exquisite scenery, will justify a little longer description of them.

Bolton Abbey stands on the right bank of the river Wharf, at a spot where the character of Wharfedale has nearly completed a rapid, but abrupt transition, from the narrowness of a mountain torrent's rocky bed, to the open and scarcely less picturesque verdure of a broad valley, bounded by distant hills. The founders of monastic institutions have been applauded for the beauty and convenience of the sites which they chose for their conventual buildings; which generally repose within some narrow vale, intersected by a stream considerable enough to turn the abbey mill, and to supply the refectory with fish: but if tradition may be trusted, (and as it has in this instance some internal evidence, and great probability on its side, there can be no reason why it should not,) the rapid Wharf and its broken bed, gave another and a deeper reason for the choice of the site of Bolton Abbey, than the beauty of the scene, and the abundance of the fish in the river that washes its eastern boundary.

The tradition is as follows;—

In the year 1121, William de Meschines and Cecilia his wife, founded at Embsay, about four miles from Bolton, a priory for

<sup>1</sup> “Fecit etiam in Ecclesiæ coram altari tria ex argento bactilia cum initiis suis argenteis cristallis mixtim insertis dependi, in quibus lumina die noctuque perpetuo ardentia ob venerationem sancti patris Cuthberti et reliquiarum lucerent; alia quoque in circuitu altaris ad instar coronæ super candelabrum poni, quæ majoribus soleniis accensa Ecclesiam suis fulgoribus irradiarent. Feretrumque ex auro et argento, in quod ossa Venerabilis

Bedæ Presbyteri et Doctoris transferre decrevit, ex studio artificum tanta diligentia compositum, ut quid magis in eo præstet, opus an decor, merito veniat in dubium. In ornamentis vero, cruce sc. et calice pariter ex auro, et aliis quæ alibi scripta habentur, famam melius exornavit; id semper in corde recogitans canticum, *Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ*.”—*Anglia Sacra*, i. 723.



Canons regular. The founders of Embsay left an only daughter, Auliza, who adopted her mother's name, Romillé, and was married to William Fitz-Duncan, a chief notorious for the ravages which he had committed on the property of the Church, in a foray which he headed at the command of David King of Scotland. The lady Romillé and this William Fitz-Duncan had two sons; the younger of whom, called the Boy of Egremont, from one of his grandfather's baronies, survived his father and his elder brother, and became the only hope of his widowed mother.

A little above Bolton Abbey, the wharf, which is there no inconsiderable stream, forces itself with irresistible impetuosity between two rocks, not more than four feet asunder. The tremendous roar of the contracted current, and the inevitable destruction of any living being that should fall into it, does not prevent some persons from leaping from rock to rock; and it is more than probable that it may, in days long past, have been an ordinary place of passing the river. To this place (called the Strid, or Stride, from the facility with which it may be thus passed,) came the Boy of Egremont, leading a greyhound in a leash, and accompanied by a single forester. He sprang over the chasm, but the hound hanging back, and checking him in his leap, dragged him into the torrent.

The forester hastened to his lady, and with despair in his features, exclaimed, "What is good for a bootless bene."<sup>1</sup> Reading in the words and demeanour of her son's attendant, the sadness of the tale that he had to tell, she replied: "Endless sorrow." But great as her first grief was, the resignation of the Christian overcame the despair of the desolate mother; and with a religious feeling characteristic of those times she provided for the translation of Embsay Priory to the banks of the river in which her son perished: and Bolton Abbey was accordingly built as near to the fatal spot as a convenient situation could be found.<sup>2</sup> The translation of the Priory of Embsay to

<sup>1</sup> That is,  
"Whence can comfort spring  
Where prayer is of no avail?"—

*Wordsworth.*

<sup>2</sup> This tradition is consecrated by time and enshrined in the stanzas of Wordsworth, beginning, What is good for a bootless bene?



Bolton took place a little more than thirty years after its first foundation, and about the middle of the twelfth century. To this date may perhaps be referred some parts of the remaining structure, though by far the larger portions belong to later periods. The nave is Early English, (i.e., of the thirteenth century,) the choir, or at least the greater part of it, (for parts of the choir are the oldest remains of all,) is in the Decorated style, and must therefore be referred to the fourteenth century: and at the dissolution of greater monasteries, among which fell Bolton, Richard Moon, the last Prior, had left uncompleted a tower at the west end, which would have been a noble specimen of the Perpendicular style. The exact date of this tower is determined by the inscription which it still bears, recording that Prior Moon laid the foundation in 1520: but the occasion of its commencement has probably no record, but the general character of the whole building as it now stands. The remains of the central piers at the intersection of the nave and transepts, seem to indicate that there was before a central tower. This tower had probably given way before Prior Moon's time; and the piers not being strong enough to admit of its restoration, recourse was had to the erection of a western tower.<sup>1</sup> The tower in the north transept of Fountains Abbey has probably a parallel history; but there can be no doubt that the Abbot of Fountains selected the position of the new tower with far greater felicity than the Prior of Bolton.

<sup>1</sup> If this conjecture is true, and none other appears to be equally probable, there is a trifling and accidental anachronism in the opening of *The White Doe of Rylstone*, the scene of which is laid by the poet partly in this neighbourhood, and the date,

“In great Eliza's golden time.”

The first Canto opens thus—

“From Bolton's old monastic tower,  
The bells ring loud with gladsome  
power.”

And again—

“—— Full fifty years  
That sumptuous pile, with all its piers,  
Too harshly hath been doomed to taste  
The bitterness of wrongs or waste:

The courts are ravaged; but the tower  
Is standing with a voice of power,  
That ancient voice which wont to call  
To mass, or some high festival.”

Now if the central tower had fallen before the dissolution, it is certain that there was no tower standing

“In great Eliza's golden time,”  
nor any bells suspended for use.—  
Whitaker, indeed, argues that the tower was standing, because the bells are mentioned in the inventory of the sequestrators, among the effects of Bolton Priory: but bells unsuspended, (which these would be if the tower had fallen or given way,) would be included in such an inventory.



The Priory in its perfect state consisted, of course, of the Church, with the usual appendages of chapter-house, cloisters, refectory, dormitories, and kitchens, with the Prior's residence, all to the south of the church; and the outer gateway and the Priory mill, at convenient distances. Of these, the church only remains, partially in ruins; except the lodge, which is converted into an occasional residence of the Dukes of Devonshire, the proprietors of this lordly domain.

Of the church, the choir and transepts are in ruins, leaving, however, enough to prove that they are the remains, if not of one of the largest and most splendid, yet of one of the most elegant churches in the kingdom. The great east window must have been exceedingly grand, and the tracery, yet remaining, of some of the side windows is exquisite. The nave having been appropriated to the chapelry of Bolton, in the parish of Skipton, at the dissolution, is still used for Divine service, and is kept in neat and sufficient repair. The present entrance is at the west, through the great door of Prior Moon's tower, which forms a singular and not unpleasing ante-church. Touching the walls of the original western front, without being built into them, or at all disturbing them, the tower arch forms to the eye a most remarkable frame-work for the beautiful lancet windows still remaining entire.

The casualties to which the structure is subject form interesting parts of the history of architecture, especially where they are to be traced to the character of the age, or to any defect in the structure, which may indicate an imperfect development of the art. To the fall of the central towers of Winchester and Ely, and of the western tower of Worcester, we have already alluded; and though these events belong to a more recent period, yet so far as they were occasioned by an imperfection of structure referable to the imperfect skill and lack of experience of the first Norman architects, they ought to be mentioned at least in this part of the history. There were doubtless many other towers of early date which shared the same fate, between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, among which we may notice those of Fountains and Bolton: but still we must needs say, that of the great number of towers erected about this time, a very large proportion have resisted the varied shocks of six hundred years.



The great enemy of churches at that day was fire, which was of more frequent occurrence than it has been of late, and also from the constant recurrence of timber roofs, more destructive: for instance York, and also Weremouth were partially destroyed by fire in 1068. Durham was burnt in 1080. In 1113 Worcester was destroyed by fire, as Wulstan is said to have foretold on the day of its consecration;<sup>1</sup> and in 1114 Chichester was also burnt. In 1137 York, a cathedral most unhappy in this respect, was again a prey to the flames; and in the same year the Abbey of Bath shared a like fate. In all these cases the church rose, phoenix-like with renewed vigour and beauty from its ashes; and perhaps the most splendid of all our monastic remains, owe not a little of their beauty to the sacrilegious hands which set fire to an earlier church. The author of the life of "S. William Archbishop of York," gives the following picturesque account of the tumult, in which the enemies of the Archbishop destroyed the Abbey of Fountains in which he had taken refuge.

"They attacked the Abbey of Fountains in a large body, with drawn swords, which they hoped to bedew in the blood of the holy Abbot. Their rage had so passed all control, that they feared not to profane the sacred Abbey itself: with impious and sacrilegious hands they tore down the gates, and entered the very sanctuary: but when he, for whose blood they thirsted, was not to be found, they rushed through the adjacent buildings and offices, laying every thing waste, and carrying off whatever was valuable; and to finish their work of impiety, they set fire to the building, erected at so much labour and expense, and soon reduced it to a mass of ashes. At a short distance off stood the holy brotherhood, and beheld in dismay and anguish their house and church crumbling and sinking into ashes before the devouring flames. One little oratory, with its adjacent offices, remained to them not quite consumed, like a brand snatched from the fire. Here at the foot of the altar lay prostrate the Abbot, pouring forth in prayer his soul to GOD. His prayers were heard, for here, while the hand of the destroyer was at work, he lay unseen, unhurt, 'safe under the defence of the MOST HIGH, and abiding under the shadow of the ALMIGHTY.' The destroyers supposing that he was not at Fountains, at length departed, 'laden,' as the monkish writer says, 'not with much money, but with much damnation.' They lived not long to rejoice in their impious deed: they were struck with the hand of GOD, and were cut off almost immediately in their sins, some of them dying of consumption,

<sup>1</sup> Worcester was again burnt in 1202.



some by drowning, and some were struck with madness; all of them in a short time perished in various ways, and almost all unreconciled to GOD! Meanwhile the abbot and monks, taking courage and comfort from above, set themselves vigorously to work to rebuild the abbey and monastery; and as it is written, 'the bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones,' so it was with the Abbey of Fountains: holy and faithful men of the neighbourhood gave their assistance, and in a short time the new fabric rose more beautiful and glorious than the former."

In writing the history of an art in which we are so immeasurably surpassed by our remote ancestors as we are in Ecclesiastical Architecture, and which, too, is so greatly elevated by its high office as a handmaid of the Church, there is no little danger of seeming unthankful for our own happier lot in many things, and especially for our own less corrupted faith and purer institutions. And, indeed, it would be but palpable weakness to dissemble the conviction, that some quality there must be rather moral or religious, than either physical or purely intellectual, in which the churchmen of the middle ages exceeded ourselves; and which enabled them to excel us in the application of the noblest of arts, to the highest of purposes. It is on this account the more necessary to bear in mind the many and most important respects in which we are greatly superior to them. I do not speak of doctrine, because as an Anglican churchman, writing for Anglican churchmen, I cannot suppose a question on that point; and also because the subject does not at all fall in with the purpose of this volume: but the violence and bloodshed, and the imperfect social system, which converted churches into sanctuaries, and then failed to respect the religion of the place: the outbreaks of the people, never wanting leaders in their attacks against the privileges, and even against the sacred edifices of the Church, and the retreats of her consecrated sons, into which they carried fire and sword without compunction: the bitter feuds between different degrees and orders of the devoted servants of the sanctuary, which sometimes subverted churches, and sometimes monasteries, and filled the court of the LORD's house with satire and grossness, visible signs of anger and rivalry;—these things are within our province and teach us a lesson of thankfulness that GOD has cast our lot in a land fairer, and in places pleasanter and more holy, than they would



have been when blood and violence and rampant injustice, and unbridled rage and malice, cried so loud, even from the sacred precincts of the LORD's house, for the chastising rod.

Viewed in this light there is a moral necessity for intermingling with the records of noble acts of devotion, and the praises of a higher art than now stoops to this lower sphere, such instances of destructive sacrilege as that just related. Others will occur to the reader, such as for instance the murder of Thomas à Becket before the altar of S. Benedict in his own church; which has besides an importance in this history as the origin of a part of that Cathedral which has no fellow elsewhere, and is called from the prelate who thus fell, Becket's chapel, and Becket's crown.<sup>1</sup>

One or two like instances I shall collect from the pages of a contemporary chronicler, now open before me, and with these I shall close for the present the less pleasant task of retouching the darker shades of our country's history.

"On that day," viz. October 22, 1189, says Richard of Devizes,<sup>2</sup> "Hugh de Nonante, Bishop of Coventry, laid his complaint before the Archbishop and Bishops assembled at the consecration of the Bishops elect, against his monks of Coventry, for having laid violent hands on him and drawn his blood before the altar. He had also expelled the greater part of the congregation before his complaint, nor did he cease from his importunity, until he had obtained the sanction of all the bishops in attestation to the Pope against the monks."<sup>3</sup>

Coventry seems to be a place of many such troubles, for in the following year—

"William, legate of the Apostolic see, held a council at Westminster, in which he sentenced all religion [all the religious?] to be expelled from Coventry cathedral, and prebendary clerks to be substituted in place of

<sup>1</sup> The martyrdom of Thomas à Becket has another connexion with this work, as affording a subject to many illuminations, frescoes, and painted windows. It may also be observed that in dedications of churches in England, S. Thomas is usually S. Thomas of Canterbury, and not S. Thomas the Apostle.

<sup>2</sup> I have used Gale's translation.

<sup>3</sup> It does not much alter the merits of the case as bearing on the character of the times, that the monks were resisting an armed force, which the Bishop had brought to expel them from their monastery.—See Godwin de Præsulibus.



the monks." And in 1192, "the Bishop of Chester, who, from his detestation of religion, had expelled the monks from Coventry, entirely broke down all the workshops there were in the monastery, that by the altered appearance of the place, all remembrance of its past state might be taken away from posterity. And further, lest the ruins of the walls should some day bespeak their author, the church of the place, which had not been finished, was found a ready plea, and having bestowed the materials upon it, without charge, he began to build. Moreover, he appointed the masons and plaisterers their hire out of the chattels of the monastery. They built eagerly, even the absent canons, around the church spacious and lofty villas perhaps for their own use, if even once in their lives any chance should offer a cause for visiting the place. None of the prebendaries regularly resided there any more than they do elsewhere; but doing great things for the gates of the palaces, they have left to poor vicars induced by a trifling remuneration to insult GOD, to them have they intrusted the holy chant and vanquished household gods and bare church walls.

"This forsooth is true religion; this is that glorious religion of the clerks, for the sake of which the Bishop of Chester, the first of men that durst commit so great iniquity, expelled his monks from Coventry."

We would willingly curtail the account, but there is a raciness about the language of the monk of Devizes, even yet vocal to the wise, which forbids much alteration; and besides the very bitterness of the man is a part of the evil we are exposing; and whether Richard of Devizes is a slanderer, or Hugh of Chester a coarse sacrilegious tyrant, it is but a part of the overwhelming hostility between the secular and the regular clergy.

"O what a fat morsel, and not to be absorbed, is a monk! Many a thousand has that bit choked, while the wicked at their death have had it for their viaticum. If as often as a monk were calumniated and reproached he were consumed, all religion would be absorbed before many ages. At all times and in every place, whether the Bishop spoke in earnest or in jest, a monk was some part of his discourse. But as he could not desist from speaking of them, lest he should incur the opprobrium of a detractor, if in their absence he should carp at their order, he resolved to keep some monk abiding with him in his court, that his conversation about them might be made less offensive, by the presence and audience of one of them. So he took as his quasi chaplain, a certain monk, scarcely of age, but yet who had professed at Burton, whom to the scandal of religion, he generally took about with him. O excess of sorrow! Even among the angels of GOD is found iniquity. The monk, wise and prudent, seduced to the delusion, hardened his forehead as a harlot, that he a monk should not blush when monks were reviled. On a certain day, as the Bishop was



standing over his workmen at Coventry, his monk attending close by his side, on whom the Bishop familiarly resting, said, 'Is it not proper and expedient, my monk, even in your judgment, that the great beauty of so fair a church, that such a comely edifice, should rather be appropriated to gods than devils?' And while the monk was hesitating at the obscurity of the words, he added, 'I,' said he, 'call my clerks gods, and monks devils!' And presently, putting forth the forefinger of his right hand towards his clerks, who were standing round him, continued, 'I say ye are gods, and ye are all the children of the Highest!' And having turned again to the left, concluded to the monk, 'But ye monks shall die like devils; and as one and the greatest of your princes ye shall fall away into hell, because ye are devils upon earth. Truly, if it should befall me to officiate for a dead monk, which I should be very unwilling to do, I would commend his body and soul not to God, but to the devil!' The monk, who was standing in the very place that the monks had been plundered of, did not refute the insult on the monks, and because on such an occasion he was silent, met, as he deserved, with the reward of eternal silence being imposed upon him. For suddenly a stone falling from the steeple of the church, dashed out the brains of the monk who was attending on the Bishop, the Bishop being preserved in safety for some greater judgment."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now take a general survey of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Norman period.

It is probable that before the close of the twelfth century there was scarcely a district, except, of course, the very thickly populated manufacturing towns, which happen to be placed almost universally in places least inhabited in those days, which had not as many churches as it has now; and it is certain that in many parts of the country, especially in the neighbourhood of monastic or cathedral establishments, the churches were more numerous than they are at present. The greater part of the monasteries, too, which grew to future importance, were already founded, and the vast monastic pile, rising over the wooded banks of some murmuring stream, was a sight which whispered often of retirement from the world to the gay and proud, and to the poor and needy offered alms and a blessing. If there were darker shadows in the picture, morally and religiously speaking, they had no expression, nothing to suggest them, in the general outline and character of the church and the cloister.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh de Nonante, however, did not meet with a worse fate than the unhappy monk in the text. He died a penitent, and in the habit of a monk!

The year after his death the seculars were driven out of Coventry, and the monks reinstated. See Godwin de Præsulibus.



Descending to particulars, there was of course considerable variety in the character of different churches, according to their destination and importance. The smaller parish church usually consisted of a nave and chancel, with a tower, or frequently a bell-gable only at the west end. Sometimes, however, (indeed not unfrequently, if we may judge of the number which still retain this arrangement,) a third compartment was added to the east of the chancel, which became the sacrum, and which was frequently apsidal in its termination;<sup>1</sup> and in this case the tower was sometimes, as at Stewkley, over the central compartment, or that between the nave and the sacrum. Aisles were certainly not so common as in any future style, except in larger churches, although they were by no means necessarily excluded. In all cases a great part of the general *exterior* effect was due to the high-pitched roof which formed a very large proportion of the whole mass.

The door was often placed in a projection of the wall, with a pedimental top, to give depth for jambs and arches of several successively receding orders; and even where the thickness of the wall was not thus increased, there were almost invariably two orders of mouldings, each supported by its square jamb, with a shaft between them. The doorways of churches of this style, of all degrees of splendour and importance, are extremely rich, as compared with the rest of the exterior.<sup>2</sup> This is not an isolated particular. It is to be referred to a general principle, that of presenting the *decorated* face of every portion of the church to the *advancing* spectator. In their application of this principle the Normans were at least so far eminent, that the negative of the principle was most fully carried out by them, the other face of each portion of the church being often absolutely devoid of ornament, even when the former is very rich.

<sup>1</sup> This form is so characteristic of the style, that I shall mention some examples. Steetley, Derbyshire, a ruined but *very beautiful* specimen; Birkin, Yorkshire; Kilpeck, Herefordshire; Stewkley, Buckinghamshire; Dunwich, Suffolk; and, on the authority of a drawing from a set of ecclesiological notices made in 1592,

given in Ormerod's Cheshire, iii. 331, the ancient chapel of Prestbury, in Cheshire.

<sup>2</sup> Church builders in all the succeeding styles have borne testimony to the beauty of Norman doors, by frequently preserving them when all other parts of the church were rebuilt.



The Norman architect never seemed to contemplate the possibility of a worshipper turning *back*. Entering at the rich door, which presents a glorious assemblage of decorations to the advancing eye, we leave behind us, as we pass the threshold, a perfect blank. We look to the chancel-arch, and, even in very small churches, find three or four concentric orders, with their jambs and jamb-shafts, each crowded with rich and effective decorations; and beyond this is the apse with its three windows, each surmounted with a glory of zigzag mouldings, and separated by vaulting-shafts, from which moulded groining-ribs arise to one point over the place of the altar, like a rich imperial crown; and at the south of the chancel is the little side door,<sup>1</sup> through which the worshipper passes out, without having discovered that if he had turned his head at any stage of his advance he would have seen but bare walls, and unadorned arches. All this may or may not have been designed to express such a meaning, but it surely looks like an embodying of the words of our LORD, "He that putteth his hand to the plough, and *looketh back*, is not worthy of Me."

In conventual and cathedral churches this principle is not so fully carried out *in the interior*, and that because it does not so fully apply. They are for a society of clerics, who are never supposed to *approach* the offices of the church, but to be *always in them, totus in illis*, to be *conversant* in them, and, whichever way they turn, still about the work of the sanctuary. According to this notion the east end, when all the furniture is there, is indeed the richest, because it is the place of the highest mysteries, but all around is not plain except by comparison. Yet *on the exterior*, which represents the aspect which the church presents to the world, the rule holds. There the west front, the face which one approaches from without, is by far the most gorgeous; surpassing the east in decoration, as much as the east surpasses the west end, in the interior. I have mentioned this principle here, not only because we *first* find it, but because we find it *most*

<sup>1</sup> This is usually called the priest's door, but I am persuaded that it was really intended not for the priest to enter by, but for the worshippers to

pass out of the church after the celebration of mass. I must confess, however, that general authority is here against me.



*fully carried out*, in the Norman style. It gradually gave way before a different character of ornament, as well as a different application of it, until, in the Perpendicular style it is scarcely recognized, though it still retains its hold in the elaborate finish of the west fronts of our larger churches.

In the arrangement of their essential parts the larger conventual churches were more uniform than the parish churches of this age; though their extent, and numerous component parts gave room for great variety in composition. In almost all there was a long nave, a transept, (or cross, as it was anciently called,) and a choir of scarcely half the length of the nave,<sup>1</sup> and but a little longer than the transepts: indeed sometimes, as at Kirkstall, the choir extended but one bay beyond the transepts, and just served to form the head of the cross, lest that most appropriate form of the temple of CHRIST THE CRUCIFIED should be lost.<sup>2</sup> Of course, in the interior the ritual choir extended into the nave, so that it had no defect of length for the purposes of divine worship.

To nave, transepts and chancel alike there were generally aisles; to the nave almost always, to the transepts sometimes on the east side only, where the several bays became chapels, with separate altars each under its east window. The choir was sometimes without aisles, and sometimes it was actually surrounded by them, forming a passage called the processional, behind and round the apse, or other eastern end. The apsidal termination was perhaps comparatively even more frequent in large churches than in small ones; indeed, taking the cathedrals of England of Norman date as our guide, we should say it was almost universal. The altar was placed in the chord of the circle of which the apse was composed,<sup>3</sup> and behind it,

<sup>1</sup> This is the most essential difference in the ground plans of churches of this and the succeeding styles. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the choir was nearly as long as the nave.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Willis (Canterbury, p. 67,) has given the number of bays which constituted the choir of all the

great Norman conventual churches whose dates are ascertained, and whose plan is recoverable.

<sup>3</sup> This fact is curiously ascertained in the church of Birkin, in Yorkshire, by a hagioscope from an additional Decorated aisle which commands the centre of the chord of the apse.



raised considerably above the ground, and approached by steps from the processionary, was the Bishop's throne, in cathedral churches. That at Norwich still remains. Gervase describes the site of that at Canterbury. It was in the wall, in the circuit behind the altar, and here the Archbishops used to sit on high festivals, during the solemnizing of the mass, until the consecration, and then they descended by eight steps to the altar of CHRIST: this throne also, like that at Norwich, was probably approached from the processionary: until within a few years it occupied its original position; it is now removed into the *corona*.

The ground plan of large churches had also several chapels within the shelter, so to speak, of the choir and transepts; and these, as well as the choir had also, in general, apsidal terminations towards the east,<sup>1</sup> and the ends of the transepts sometimes have the same form in foreign churches of this age, but in England I believe never.

The shortness of the choir, and its apsidal east end, with other subordinate apses are characteristics of this style, by which it is associated with the Saxon, and through that with the Basilican form of churches, so closely connected philosophically as well as in fact, with the earliest church architecture. The smaller churches, such as that of Steetley, most closely follow the Basilican plan; the cruciform arrangement of a monastic or cathedral church, combining with it the more distinctively Christian arrangements; but there can be no doubt that the origin of the apse is to be sought in the Roman Basilica. It was discontinued sooner than we can find any satisfactory reason for its being laid aside. Its disadvantage is that it breaks up the east window, which is so magnificent a feature in later styles; but the lancet of the Early English might well have been contented with the space allotted to it in a semi-octagon; yet the apse had departed before the Early English was fully developed, nor does it appear,

<sup>1</sup> In Professor Willis's conjectural plans, there are three apses in the Saxon Cathedral of Canterbury; three in the church as it was rebuilt by Lanfranc, and nine in the enlarged church

of Anselm. Messrs. Buckler give five apses to the church of S. Alban's, besides two which are apsidal in the interior, but not in the exterior outline.



except very rarely in later buildings.<sup>1</sup> The advantages of the apse might have pleaded for its retention even to the end, for nothing can exceed the grandeur which it gives to an exterior view, when it is supported by flying buttresses, springing from the surrounding processional way.

The increased length of the choir is, on the other hand, a clear advantage of every succeeding arrangement, over that of the Normans, for it restores harmony between the structural and the liturgical division of the church, the choir being no longer brought down into the nave in the interior arrangements.

The great eastern crypt, extending sometimes beneath the whole of the choir, from the central tower to the extreme east, is another distinctive feature of Norman construction, which it borrowed from the preceding style, but which was not continued in succeeding centuries. These crypts were used as burial places of holy men, whence they were called confessionaries, and some became crowded with their shrines, and with altars, and chapels, and they became places of the most retired devotions of the faithful.<sup>2</sup> The crypts of Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, Rochester, and Worcester, were all founded before 1085, and after this they were discontinued, except as additions to those already existing, as at Canterbury and Rochester, the first especially being of great magnificence, and in every respect worthy of careful study. The Early English crypt of the Lady Chapel at Hereford, is a single instance of later foundation;<sup>3</sup> and passing the borders we have the magnificent crypt, also Early English, of the Cathedral of Glasgow. Still crypts may be considered distinctively Saxon and Norman appendages of our great churches.

<sup>1</sup> Like many early arrangements, it seems to have been partially revived in the latest style. It occurs for instance at S. Michael's, Coventry, and in Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot refrain from directing attention to the gross and unfounded abuse of Fosbroke's article on crypts, in the *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*. Among the parts of churches, he enu-

merates *crypts, for clandestine drinking, feasting, and things of that kind*, (p. 125.) The man who could write thus is not of course very accessible to shame, but even he might blush to find that his own notices of the uses of crypts from old authorities prove that they were purely devotional.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Willis' *Canterbury*, p. 71.



We now proceed to the details of structure.

Throughout the whole edifice, the aisle walls were usually pierced with one or two series of windows, and there was a clerestory over them: the ends of the transepts and of the choir had, in most cases, three ranges of windows: but the west end, for greater dignity of effect had generally but one set of taller windows over the lofty and gorgeous west door; and it was sometimes rendered still more imposing, by towers, terminating the aisles. Another tower rising from the intersection of the cross seemed borne aloft by the mighty arms stretched from the four quarters to sustain it, but it was only of sufficient elevation to break the long line of nave, choir, and transepts all of equal height.

Throughout the exterior, large surfaces were broken by arcades of round-headed arches, resting on engaged shafts, and frequently intersecting. Sometimes, especially in the tower, some of these were pierced and formed windows. Among external decorations, which added not merely to the richness of the building on a close view, but to the general character also, must be added the corbel table, often of grotesque heads, or other rude forms, and from its depth and position of great consequence as a decorative feature: and the reticulated or imbricated forms cut on the face of large surfaces, as in the tower of Castor Church, and the north transept gable of Durham Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

The roofs externally were all of high pitch, those of the towers but little more so than the rest; and they were covered generally with tiles or shingles, but sometimes with lead. The nearest approaches to spires, in form if not in height, were found in the large pinnacles surmounting angle-buttresses in the larger churches.<sup>2</sup>

In the interior, round arches were supported sometimes by cylindrical pillars, varying in height from two to seven diame-

<sup>1</sup> This method of relieving a surface is one of the characters derived by the Normans from the use of brick.

<sup>2</sup> As for instance, the splendid turrets with their conical caps at the east

end of Peterborough. Connected with a small church these would in fact form spires, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, and no mean spires they would be.



ters,<sup>1</sup> (but almost universally more nearly approaching the former proportion,) sometimes by square piers, or masses of wall, with or without engaged shafts to relieve their flat surfaces. The bases were generally square, as were also the capitals; the latter very plain or variously decorated, sometimes with grotesque figures of leaves, men and animals; sometimes in imitation more or less exact of the Corinthian capital, which was received, however, by the Norman architect, through the western empire, and was never produced with a perfectly classical grace. The abacus was almost invariably square, and either without mouldings, or without such mouldings as would break the effect of a straight line, presented by a succession through several compartments of a building. In short the abacus represents the classical entablature, running unbroken along a whole building, and on this account is a very valuable link, in Romanesque, between the classical forms of the Grecian orders, and the very dissimilar, but not less beautiful creations of mediæval art.

The roof of the nave and choir was either open to the main timbers, or ceiled with flat panels, level with the top of the walls, and painted in brilliant colours.<sup>2</sup> A large expanse, as that of the nave or choir, was seldom if ever vaulted; even the crypts being divided into a greater number of aisles than the superincumbent edifice, to avoid a large span of roof: but the aisles are often vaulted. The *geometrical* construction of the vaulting where it did occur, was very simple; the four sides of the compartments being equal, two semicylinders intersecting one another formed the simplest quadripartite vault. Where the sides of the compartment were unequal, one of the cylinders was usually stilted that the central point of intersection might coincide at the top of the vault; but sometimes the construction was so inartificial, as to throw the groining ribs more or less apart. Into more elaborate *geometrical* arrangements I shall not here enter.

The *mechanical* construction of vaults was often equally simple, or rather rude. The groining ribs (and cross springers where there are any) alone are of wrought stone, and support

<sup>1</sup> Rickman. But those in the crypt of York are of much less than two diameters.

<sup>2</sup> That of Peterborough is usually considered original.



the whole of the vault, which is of rough cement laid upon the centrings which were removed when it was set, and sometimes to this day retains the impressions of the boards. The practical imperfection of this construction often becomes apparent in the premature decay of the vault. "The ruins of Lindisfarne, on the Northumberland coast, have long exhibited the great cross springer rib, over the intersection of the nave and transepts, remaining, while the rest of the roof is destroyed."<sup>1</sup> The choir of Kirkstall presents much the same appearance, the interstitial vaulting falling rapidly to decay, while the groining ribs remain.

It is no part of the plan of this work to enumerate or describe all the decorations distinctive of each style: these may be found in any manual of ecclesiastical architecture. Where, however, there is a progressive development, or a character common to several forms, but more or less peculiar to a particular style, the class of decorations in which these are found, are a part not only of the details, but of the history of the art.

The decorations of the Saxon era consisted almost exclusively of what may be called surface carving, as distinguished from mouldings. In this style surface carving still preponderates<sup>2</sup> though mouldings begin to appear; but they are themselves generally enriched with forms which break in upon the continuous projections and hollows which alone can strictly be called *mouldings*. When, however, the same forms are repeated along the same line, they are generally included under the term mouldings, and thus, two of the most beautiful and characteristic kinds are called the chevron or zigzag, and the beak-head moulding. The former is perhaps the most effective decoration in ecclesiastical architecture, and is especially beautiful over the interior of window arches where it receives and scatters the light with great effect. The medallion moulding consisting of series of subjects carved in relief upon round or oblong pateræ is more complicated, though in general effect less beautiful: but it affords ample opportunity to display the fecundity of the

<sup>1</sup> Rickman.

<sup>2</sup> Though nothing can be farther removed from it in character and effect, the panelling and decoration of sur-

faces in the late Perpendicular, as seen in excess in King's College Chapel, is a return to the *principle* of Norman surface sculpture.



mason's invention, and sometimes presents a curious series of carvings ; as for instance the twelve signs of the zodiac, several of the parables of the New Testament, and the like. All these are as we have said, strictly speaking, rather surface decorations of mouldings, than mouldings strictly so called, and we shall find them gradually disappearing in the succeeding style.—Where mouldings occur in this style they generally occupy the wall and the soffit plane,<sup>1</sup> or even one of these alone, and not the chamfer plane ; and of course all the profuse decorations which cover the face of the mouldings occupy the same position, which gives a squareness, (a *directness*, if we may so speak, to express character as well as mere form,) to the decorated surfaces of the Normans. Whether or no it has any connection with the character of the people, the Norman is a most *straight-forward* style. And to this we have only to add that on the whole the effect of Norman decoration is due to the aggregation of a great number of forms, each in itself not possessing much beauty ; but it may admit a doubt whether any succeeding style produced an effect equal in solemnity and gorgeousness to the door-ways, and chancel-arches of the Norman period.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the plane of the wall, and that at right angles with it, and not at an angle of 45°.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE TRANSITION FROM NORMAN TO EARLY ENGLISH.

THE BURNING OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.—THE RESTORATION BY WILLIAM OF SENS AND WILLIAM THE ENGLISHMAN.—THE OLDER AND NEWER FABRICS COMPARED.—INTRODUCTION OF THE POINTED ARCH AND ITS RESULTS.—INFLUENCE OF THE PATRON SAINT ON THE FABRIC OF THE CHURCH.

“IN the year of grace one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, by the just but occult judgment of GOD, the Church of CHRIST at Canterbury was consumed by fire, in the forty-fourth year from its dedication, that glorious choir, to wit, which had been so magnificently completed by the care and industry of Prior Conrad.

“Now the manner of the burning and repair was as follows. In the aforesaid year, on the nones of September, at about the ninth hour, (Sep. 5, between three and four P.M.) and during an extraordinarily violent south wind, a fire broke out before the gate of the church, and outside the walls of the monastery, by which three cottages were half destroyed. From thence, while the citizens were assembling, and subduing the fire, cinders and sparks carried aloft by the high wind, were deposited upon the church, and being driven by the fury of the wind between the joints of the lead, remained there amongst the half-rotten planks, and shortly glowing with increasing heat, set fire to the rotten rafters; from these the fire was communicated to the larger beams and their braces, no one yet perceiving or helping. For the well painted ceiling below, and the sheet-lead covering above, concealed between them the fire that had arisen within.

“Meantime the three cottages, whence the mischief had arisen, being destroyed, and the popular excitement having subsided, everybody went home again, while the neglected church was consuming with internal fire unknown to all. But beams and braces burning, the flames rose to the slopes of the roof; and the sheets of lead yielded to the increasing heat and began to melt. Thus the raging wind, finding a freer entrance, increased the fury of the fire; and the flames beginning to show themselves, a cry arose in the churchyard: ‘See! see! the church is on fire!’

“Then the people and the monks assemble in haste, they draw water, they brandish their hatchets, they run up the stairs, full of eagerness to save the church, already, alas! beyond their help. But when they reach the roof and perceive the black smoke and scorching flames that pervade it throughout, they abandon the attempt in despair, and thinking only of their own safety, make all haste to descend.



“ And now that the fire had loosened the beams from the pegs that bound them together, the half-burnt timbers fell into the choir below upon the seats of the monks ; the seats, consisting of a great mass of wood-work, caught fire, and thus the mischief grew worse and worse. And it was marvellous, though sad, to behold how that glorious choir itself fed and assisted the fire that was destroying it. For the flames multiplied by this mass of timber, and extending upwards full fifteen cubits, scorched and burnt the walls, and more especially injured the columns of the church.

“ And now the people ran to the ornaments of the church, and began to tear down the pallia and curtains, some that they might save, but some to steal them. The reliquary chests were thrown down from the high beam and thus broken, and their contents scattered ; but the monks collected them and carefully preserved them from the fire. Some there were, who, inflamed with a wicked and diabolical cupidity, feared not to appropriate to themselves the things of the church, which they had saved from the fire.

“ In this manner the house of GOD, hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures, was now made a despicable heap of ashes, reduced to a dreary wilderness, and laid open to all the injuries of the weather.

“ The people were astonished that the ALMIGHTY should suffer such things, and maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their heads and hands, blaspheming the LORD and His saints, the patrons of the church ; and many, both of laity and monks, would rather have laid down their lives than that the church should have so miserably perished.

“ For not only was the choir consumed in the fire, but also the infirmary, with the chapel of S. Mary, and several other offices in the court ; moreover many ornaments and goods of the church were reduced to ashes.”<sup>1</sup>

The pure Norman style found a tomb in the ashes of Canterbury, over which Gervase so pathetically mourns ; for in the restoration, to which we now proceed, still following the authority of Gervase, an eyewitness of all that passed, the pointed arch is frequently used, and several Early English decorations are introduced.

<sup>1</sup> This account of the burning of the Cathedral of Canterbury is taken from Gervase, and from Professor Willis's translation of his history. Professor Willis observes that “ the most remarkable mediæval writer of architectural history is undoubtedly Gervase : ” it is equally true to say that the most remarkable living writer on mediæval architecture is undoubtedly the translator of Gervase. The history of Canterbury Cathedral is perfect. With

a glorious subject ; with a contemporary chronicle before him surpassing every other in existence for minute description ; with a full knowledge both of structure and of ecclesiology to guide him in making the cathedral and the chronicle illustrate each other, Professor Willis has produced a work which has done more to fix our knowledge on the subject of which he treats, than any other work in existence.



The choir being destroyed, the Clergy of Canterbury put together as well as they could an altar and station in the nave, where they might wail and howl, rather than sing the matins and nocturns: and taking the relics of SS. Dunstan and Elphege, the patron saints of the church from the ruins, they disposed them as decently as possible at the altar of the Holy Cross in the nave, and there, for five years the brethren remained in grief and sorrow, separated from the people only by a low wall.

Meanwhile they consulted how the church might be repaired; but this was impossible, for the columns of the church, commonly called the *pillars*, were scaling in pieces from the heat of the fire, and hardly able to stand. French and English artificers were consulted, but they differed in opinion, some undertaking to repair the columns without mischief to the walls above: others asserting that the church must be pulled down, if the brethren would worship in safety.

"However, amongst the other workmen there had come a certain William of Sens, a man active and ready, and as a workman most skilful both in wood and stone. Him therefore they retained, on account of his lively genius and good reputation, and dismissed the others. And to him, and to the providence of GOD was the execution of the work committed.

"And he, residing many days with the monks and carefully surveying the burnt walls in their upper and lower parts, within and without, did yet for some time conceal what he found necessary to be done, lest the truth should kill them in their present state of pusillanimity.

"But he went on preparing all things that were needful for the work, either of himself or by the agency of others. And when he found that the monks began to be somewhat comforted, he ventured to confess that the pillars rent with the fire and all that they supported must be destroyed if the monks wished to have a safe and excellent building. At length they agreed, being convinced by reason and wishing to have the work as good as he promised, and above all things to live in security; thus they consented patiently, if not willingly, to the destruction of the choir.

"And now he addressed himself to the procuring of stone from beyond sea. He constructed ingenious machines for loading and unloading ships, and for drawing cement and stones. He delivered moulds for shaping the stones to the sculptors who were assembled, and diligently prepared other things of the same kind. The choir thus condemned to destruction was pulled down, and nothing else was done in this year."

Then follows in the chronicle of Gervase a history and description of the former church, which with Professor Willis'



plan and notes of explanation are most graphic and instructive ; so that we are almost in as favourable a condition even with respect to the church of Lanfranc, which was destroyed long before Gervase's time, as the predecessors of the chronicler, who had not, as he complains, left behind them any very clear description of the church in their day. The former history of the church, however, is not to our present purpose. "Leaving out therefore," we again turn to Gervase, and use his words, "all that is not absolutely necessary, let us boldly prepare for the destruction of this old work and the marvellous building of the new, and let us see what our master William has been doing in the meanwhile."

The first year was taken up in destroying the old works, and making preparations for the new. In the following year (1175) before winter, William of Sens

"had erected four pillars, that is, two on each side, and after the winter two more were placed, so that on each side were three in order, upon which and upon the exterior wall of the aisles he framed seemly arches and a vault, that is, three claves on each side. I put clavis for the whole ciborium, because the clavis placed in the middle locks up and binds together the parts which converge to it from every side. With these works the second year was occupied.

"In the third year (A.D. 1176-7) he placed two pillars on each side, the two extreme ones of which he decorated with marble columns placed around them, and because at that place the choir and crosses were to meet, he constituted these principal pillars. To which, having added the keystones and vault, he intermingled the lower triforium from the great tower to the aforesaid pillars, that is, as far as the cross, with many marble columns. Over which he adjusted another triforium of other materials, and also the upper windows. And in the next place, three claves of the great vault, from the tower, namely, as far as the crosses. All which things appeared to us and to all who saw them, incomparable and most worthy of praise. And at so glorious a beginning we rejoiced and conceived good hopes of the end, and provided for the acceleration of the work with diligence and spirit. Thus was the third year occupied and the beginning of the fourth.

"In the summer of which, commencing from the cross, he erected ten pillars, that is, on each side five. Of which the two first were ornamented with marble columns to correspond with the other two principal ones. Upon these ten he placed the arches and vaults. And having, in the next place completed on both sides the triforia and upper windows, he was, at the beginning of the fifth year, in the act of preparing with machines for the turning of the great vault, when suddenly the beams broke under his



feet, and he fell to the ground, stones and timbers accompanying his fall, from the height of the capitals of the upper vault, that is to say, of fifty feet. Thus sorely bruised by the blows from the beams and stones, he was rendered helpless alike to himself and for the work, but no other person than himself was in the least injured. Against the master only was this vengeance of GOD or spite of the devil directed.

"The master, thus hurt, remained in his bed for some time under medical care in expectation of recovering, but was deceived in this hope, for his health amended not. Nevertheless, as the winter approached, and it was necessary to finish the upper vault, he gave charge of the work to a certain ingenious and industrious monk, who was the overseer of the masons; an appointment whence much envy and malice arose, because it made this young man appear more skilful than richer and more powerful ones. But the master reclining in bed commanded all things that should be done in order. And thus was completed the ciborium between the four principal pillars. In the key-stone of this ciborium the choir and crosses seem as it were to meet. Two ciboria on each side were formed before the winter; when heavy rains beginning stopped the work. In these operations the fourth year was occupied and the beginning of the fifth.

"And the master, perceiving that he derived no benefit from the physicians, gave up the work, and crossing the sea, returned to his home in France. And another succeeded him in the charge of his works; William by name, English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute, and honest. He, in the summer of the fifth year (A.D. 1179), finished the cross on each side, that is, the south and the north, and turned the ciborium, which is above the great altar, which the rains of the previous year had hindered, although all was prepared. Moreover, he laid the foundation for the enlargement of the church at the eastern part, because a chapel of S. Thomas was to be built there.

"For this was the place assigned to him; namely, the chapel of the Holy Trinity, where he celebrated his first mass, where he was wont to prostrate himself with tears and prayers, under whose crypt for so many years he was buried, where GOD for his merits had performed so many miracles, where poor and rich, kings and princes, had worshipped him, and whence the sound of his praises had gone forth into all lands.

"The master William began, on account of these foundations, to dig in the cemetery of the monks, from whence he was compelled to disturb the bones of many holy monks. These were carefully collected and deposited in a large trench, in that corner which is between the chapel and the south side of the infirmary house. Having, therefore, formed a most substantial foundation for the exterior wall with stone and cement, he erected the wall of the crypt as high as the bases of the windows.

"Thus was the fifth year employed, and the beginning of the sixth.

"In the beginning of the sixth year (A.D. 1180) from the fire, and at the time when the works were resumed, the monks were seized with a violent longing to prepare the choir, so that they might enter it at the



coming Easter. And the master, perceiving their desires, set himself manfully to work, to satisfy the wishes of the convent. He constructed, with all diligence, the wall which encloses the choir and presbytery. He erected the three altars of the presbytery. He carefully prepared a resting-place for S. Dunstan and S. Elfege. A wooden wall to keep out the weather was set up transversely between the penultimate pillars at the eastern part, and had three glass windows in it."

In fact the convent returned into the new choir, April 19, 1180, about the ninth hour of Easter Eve, but I must refer to Gervase, again, with Willis's notes, for the details of the interesting ceremonial, and the preparations for it. The works did not proceed with less zeal because the brethren had returned to the choir. In the same manner,

"The outer wall round the Chapel of S. Thomas, begun before the winter, was elevated as far as the turning of the vault. But the master had begun a tower at the eastern part, outside the circuit of the wall as it were, the lower vault of which was completed before the winter.

"The Chapel of the Holy Trinity above mentioned was then levelled to the ground; this had hitherto remained untouched out of reverence to S. Thomas, who was buried in the crypt. But the saints who reposed in the upper part of the chapel were translated elsewhere.

"The translation of these Fathers having been thus effected, the chapel, together with its crypt, was destroyed to the very ground; only that the translation of S. Thomas was reserved until the completion of his chapel. For it was fitting and manifest that such a translation should be most solemn and public. In the mean time, therefore, a wooden chapel, sufficiently decent for the place and occasion, was prepared around and above his tomb. Outside of this a foundation was laid of stones and cement, upon which eight pillars of the new crypt, with their capitals, were completed. The master also carefully opened an entrance from the old to the new crypt. And thus the sixth year was employed, and part of the seventh.

"Now let us carefully examine what were the works of our mason in this seventh year (A.D. 1181) from the fire, which, in short, included the completion of the new and handsome crypt, and above the crypt the exterior walls of the aisles up to their marble capitals. The windows, however, the master was neither willing nor able to turn, on account of the approaching rains. Neither did he erect the interior pillars. Thus was the seventh year finished, and the eighth begun.

"In this eighth year (A.D. 1182) the master erected eight interior pillars, and turned the arches and the vault with the windows in the circuit. He also raised the tower up to the bases of the highest windows under the vault. In the ninth year (A.D. 1183) no work was done for want of funds. In the tenth year (A.D. 1184) the upper windows of the tower, together with the vault, were finished. Upon the pillars was placed a lower and an



upper triforium, with windows and the great vault. Also was made the upper roof where the cross stands aloft, and the roof of the aisles as far as the laying of the lead. The tower was covered in, and many other things done this year. In which year Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, was elected to the rule of the Church of Canterbury on the eighteenth kalend of January, and was enthroned there on the feast of S. Dunstan next after."

We have now to compare the character of the new work of the two Williams, with that of the ancient choir, which it replaced, bearing in mind that the old fabric was finished in 1110, and that the new works, to the extreme east, were in progress between 1174 and 1185.<sup>1</sup>

Of the older fabric, the crypts of the choir, the external walls, and the chapels of S. Anselm and S. Andrew remain; and with these must be compared the new crypt, eastward of the old choir, the interior of the choir itself, and the whole of the Trinity chapel and of Becket's crown.<sup>2</sup>

In the Companion to the Glossary, (plate 29,) separate views are given of the two portions of the crypts, erected by Ernulf and William the Englishman respectively. The former consists of a centre and two aisles, separated by large and massive piers, which bear the pillars of the superimposed choir, and the centre is again subdivided by two rows of comparatively slender pillars. Throughout this work, the shafts, which are cylindrical, and very short, have square, cushion-shaped, unmoulded capitals. The vaulting is quadripartite, with plain flat cross springers, and

<sup>1</sup> As might be expected, there are several coincidences of design between the work of William of Sens at Canterbury, and the cathedral of his native place: these are pointed out by Professor Willis, (p. 95,) who also notices the resemblances between the Cathedral of Caen, commenced by Lanfranc, before he was Archbishop of Canterbury, and the choir of Canterbury as greatly enlarged by him, (pp. 64, 65;) and also between the Cathedral of Canterbury, and that of Rochester, which were both under the charge of Ernulf, first prior of Canterbury, and

then Bishop of Rochester, (pp. 65, 87.) Such coincidences as these are among the most interesting subjects of ecclesiological research.

<sup>2</sup> It is extremely difficult or almost impossible to make such descriptions as we must give intelligible, without plans, elevations and sections. These will be found in Britton, and Winkles on the Cathedral, in the Companion to the Glossary, and especially in Professor Willis's book, which no student of ecclesiastical architecture ought to be without.



without ribs at the diagonal groins ; in a word, it is as plain as quadripartite vaulting can be. In the crypt of the Trinity chapel, built by William the Englishman, there are also two aisles, separated from the central portion by strong piers : but the centre being of less breadth than that of the choir crypt, it is only divided into two portions, by a single row of columns. Here the piers and columns are of much greater height than in the more ancient crypt, and more slender in their proportions. The section of the greater piers is remarkable, being of two intersecting circles, forming as it were twin columns. All the capitals are round, and moulded. The vault is pointed, and all the groins are finished with moulded ribs ; but bosses have not yet made their appearance. Thus we have the principle of the pointed arch fully developed, but as yet with extremely little decoration.

In the choir, the lower part of the aisle walls, and the bases and parts of the shafts of several pillars of the old fabric remain, and these with Gervase's description have enabled Professor Willis to give diagrams and copious descriptions of Ernulf's choir, and to place the reader in possession of every little change, and every great revolution effected in the restoration after the fire, so that not a base or a moulding remains unappropriated to its rightful owner. It is not, however, for a history of the cathedral that we are searching these materials, but for the several indications of a style newly grafted upon one more ancient, so that our work is comparatively simple.

First with respect to the *masonry*, (which is often sufficient alone to determine the date of a building,) the portions of the Norman work are of much smaller stones, and more coarsely jointed. In the vaulting shafts, for instance, there are two or three stones in each course of Ernulf's work, but in the work of William of Sens only one stone, in each course of the cylinder. In the *proportions* of the several parts, the newer work is always taller and more slender : for instance, the new pillars are raised twelve feet higher than the old ones, though they retain the same thickness, and the same cylindrical form ; and of course, every part of the building, aisles, triforia, and clerestory, are raised in due proportion. The aisle windows are lengthened about three feet eight inches ; but this being insufficient to oc-



copy the twelve additional feet of wall, a triforium is added over the window heads. In the older church there was but one triforium, in that of William of Sens there were two, one in the usual position over the pier arches, the other in the thickness of the wall at the level of the clerestory windows. Moreover, in Ernulf's church the ceiling was flat, in that of William pointed vaulting rose from about the level of the old ceiling to a point nearly twenty feet above it. Thus, without reference to the character of the several parts, much greater height and lightness was attained, in the whole fabric, and a greater complication of arrangement was admitted, than would have been consistent with the character of the earlier church. There is also greater *boldness of construction* in the work of William of Sens; two massive piers, at the intersection of the eastern transept with the choir and its aisles, being dispensed with, and the whole width of the transepts thrown open from the choir. In the still later work of William the Englishman in the Trinity chapel, the double pillars (answering in form and position to those already described in the crypt) give also a lightness and grace of construction wanting in the choir; and the octopartite vaulting of Becket's crown is a great step in advance of anything in the older church, as is also the use of moulded groining ribs, and the occurrence of bosses at their intersections. The vaulting is moreover sexpartite, instead of quadripartite. The circular-headed vault is, however, still retained in the aisles.

But the great constructive difference between the new and the old work, and that which is the clue to many minor arrangements, is the introduction of the pointed arch, which is adopted universally in the great arcades of the choir by William of Sens, and excepting two pairs of round arches in the Trinity chapel, throughout the work of his successor. We shall presently discuss the general results of the introduction of the pointed arch; I shall only mention here that one of its correlatives, the wide spreading buttress, (and in the Trinity chapel even the flying buttress) is already developed in the work of William the Englishman. Yet there is something apparently arbitrary in the manner of introducing the pointed arch in this restoration, the two forms pointed and round being often singularly associ-



ated ; as for instance, in the triforium of the choir, where two pointed arches are inclosed within one round-headed arch : and the windows of the Trinity chapel are some pointed, some round-headed.

At length we descend to *ornamental details*, and here also we find a great advance in the newer works upon the Norman style. The marble shafts with which William of Sens relieves three pairs of great pillars, are new, both in character and in material ; and the same principle is carried out in the works of his successor, where we also have the slender vaulting shafts banded, as in decided Early English works. The capitals of the pillars assume a much more classical form, as well as greater richness and delicacy of chiselling, making the nearest approach of any in England to the Corinthian capital ; and in the triforium of the Trinity chapel the pillars are richly clustered. Grotesque carving on the capitals of the decorative arcades of the older works is not repeated, but several of the Norman mouldings or rather decorations of mouldings, as the billet, the nail-head and the chevron still remain ; though the latter of these has assumed a very different character from the shallow zigzag of early Norman : and the dog-tooth, so distinctive of Early English, makes its appearance. In mouldings strictly so called there is no comparison between the two works, those of the later fabric being much richer and deeper, and more generally used : our limits would hardly admit a larger view of the change effected in a single building by the introduction of the elements of a new style, and we now return to the consideration of one principal feature thus introduced, the pointed arch.

Henceforward till the reign of Henry III. we find buildings in all other respects Norman, with the pointed arch of the next style ; and again, buildings with the round arch, but with many Early English details. For instance, in the hall of Oakham castle, which affords a rich and very instructive example of the transition between the two styles, and which is assigned to the period between 1165 and 1191, in the Companion to the Glossary, the arches are all round, but the dog-tooth ornament, one of the most distinctive of Early English decorations, appears on one of the capitals : and again at Kirkstall, the pillars are Norman in all their characters, the arches are pointed ; and the



clerestory over them is pierced with round-headed windows. Proportions are as much mixed as forms and details. The Galilee of Durham (1180—1197) has throughout round arches, but the section of the pillars is Early English, and their proportions are light, even for that less massive style.

The introduction of the pointed arch is of so much greater importance than any number of separate buildings erected during this time, that we will devote to its effects the remainder of this chapter.

The most *obvious* result of this change is the introduction of a different form into doors, windows, and arcades, which are by far the most observable features of a building, and which give it a great part of its expression. But this is in reality far from being the whole that is due to the introduction of the pointed arch, which is *mechanically* and *constructively* of very different character from the round arch, and which indirectly introduced mechanical arrangements which totally altered, not only the details, but the very outline (sometimes even the very ground-plan) of a building.

The thrust, or pressure and stress, of the superincumbent weight, upon a circular arch is almost entirely vertical, demanding the heavy piers of the Normans, with very slight lateral supports.<sup>1</sup> The aisles and transepts of large churches were indeed very important lateral supports to the central walls and roof, but they gave more support than was needed, in that direction, and were not constructively intended for that purpose; and the buttresses of the Normans were almost useless, as indeed they were not introduced as mechanical aids to construction. They were mere shallow pilasters decorating the walls, and promoting harmony of design, by carrying the eye upward from the base-moulding to the corbel-table; but all that they seemed to support was often the parapet, and they really did support nothing.

On the other hand, the thrust of the pointed arch is in a great degree lateral; and now the piers have to support less weight, and may be more slender in proportion; the sides of the build-

<sup>1</sup> Thus mechanically, as well as in retained much of the classical character. several of its forms, the Norman style



ing have to resist more pressure, and the walls require lateral support. The aisles and transepts of the larger churches are now mechanically necessary, but even these are not sufficient for the support of the towers, and central walls, and roofs: buttresses also are carried out, with an enlarged base, to support the weight thrown upon the sides of the building. And very often the aisles are even constructively, as well as in fact, huge buttresses, or lateral support, the vaulting-ribs connecting the aisle walls with the clerestory, to which they become real, though masked, flying buttresses. The buttresses increase in projection, as the architects of succeeding styles depend less and less on the strength of the pillars, and calculate more and more for the lateral thrust, until at last in King's College Chapel, they embrace separate oratories within their enormous bases; and all through the Decorated and Perpendicular styles, they very well answer to Mr. Cockerell's picturesque description of them in the works of William of Wykeham, "grasping the soil of their foundation with digitated extensors, always proportioned to their perpendicular and lateral pressures."<sup>1</sup>

Now compare the lines of the essential features of a church in the later, and in the Norman era. There is not, in the Norman style, until we come to the roof, a single necessary approach to the pyramidal form. Nothing converges upwards; nothing spreads laterally as it reaches the ground. On the other hand, as soon as the pointed arch is introduced into vaulting and other portions of the building, there is an outward pressure from the apex of the roof downwards, which demands a support, and buttresses are thrust out to a proportionate extent, till they reach the ground at the point where the lateral pressure demands effective resistance. In other words, from the apex of the roof to the very ground all diverges downwards, or (which is the same thing) converges upwards; and a pyramidal form is the result. This is the real origin of the verticality of Gothic architecture. It comes at last to have additional developments, and it has accepted the high office of a symbol of theological dogmas; but still it is in its origin essentially constructive, and it owes its birth, not to the doctrines of the Church, or the cha-

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Winchester meeting of the Archæological Institute, p. 44.



racter of Churchmen, but to the introduction of the pointed arch.<sup>1</sup>

The spire and the pinnacle seem at first independent efflorescences of the verticality of the pointed style; and the spire indeed is so, though it is but an extension of the tower-roof, which had already begun to assume considerable elevation in the twelfth century; but the pinnacle is really a part of the buttress, and so one of the corollaries of the pointed arch. It gives greater weight to the buttresses, and so greater lateral support to the building; and where it occurs as a part of the flying buttress, rising just over the spring of the arch, which props the mass against which it leans, by throwing upon it the weight of some distant portion of the building, the pinnacle has a very visible effect in retaining the equilibrium of the whole mass.

We must not however look in the transition from Norman to Early English for actual examples of well-developed verticality on these principles. The buttress was still shallow even in the Semi-Norman, and the walls retained a thickness which would have been unnecessary, had the buttress assumed its proper place and received its full development. For the perfection of verticality we must look to the future styles, when these forms were fully developed, which now struggled, a living though unconscious embryo, within the narrow shell out of which they were soon to burst forth in power and beauty.

We must now go back to the work of the two Williams, for a different purpose.

We have seen that the great fire happened in 1174. The murder of Thomas à Becket had occurred but four years previous, but in the interim that prelate had been canonized; and "THE MARTYRDOM," as the place where he fell was called, and his tomb in the crypt of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, had already become objects of great veneration in the eyes of all Christendom, and sources of vast wealth to the convent.

When, therefore, the rebuilding was undertaken, very great additions were made to the cathedral, with especial reference to the martyr. The place where he was murdered was in the north

<sup>1</sup> To avoid misconception, I may here anticipate a future claim for this verticality of Gothic architecture to be retained with a symbolical meaning, though of course not without a constructive use.



transept, and on the spot where he fell an altar was erected. The transept communicated with the church by a pillar and its arches, and this pillar was removed that the altar might be seen from distant parts of the church. Such was the arrangement of the martyrdom before the fire. The body of Becket was buried in the crypt beneath the Trinity chapel; almost, that is, at the extreme end of the crypt, which extended eastward from the great cross, to the extremity of the church.

But the relics of S. Thomas required a yet more remarkable resting place: and though the choir of Canterbury Cathedral was already of much greater size than that of any other church in the kingdom, and the crypt was even more pre-eminent above all others, the devotion of the convent was not satisfied without extending both the crypt and the superstructure eastward, in two very marked additional features. These were called respectively Becket's chapel, and Becket's crown, singular in their arrangements, and of a form which it would require drawings to make intelligible.

Thus the murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury has to this day a very remarkable influence on the cathedral in which his throne had been erected. And here we shall take occasion to observe on other instances in which the form of the church was modified by some singular devotion to the patron saint.

The instance which occurs most uniformly is in the relative position of the chapel of our Lady, which is almost invariably eastward of the high altar itself: indicating that peculiar reverence by which the Holy Virgin was elevated into a more immediate, if not a higher place, in the affections and devotions of the people of the middle ages, than our Blessed LORD had Himself. A singular instance occurs at Durham. The supposed antipathy of S. Cuthbert to women, had caused all females to be shut out of the cathedral, or at least they were not allowed to approach nearer eastward than a few paces within the south door. Hugh Pudsey, Bishop from 1153 to 1197, compassionating their sad case, built for them the Galilee, at the west end of the church, in which they might be present at the celebration of the Holy Mysteries.

The instances in which the reputation of the saint influenced the splendour of the church, without creating any singular ar-



rangements were without number. Thus the ancient Westminster Abbey fell a sacrifice to the zeal of Henry III., which could not rest without dedicating a more splendid fane to the honour of the Confessor. The cathedral of Ely was vastly increased on account of the reputation of S. Etheldreda, the patron saint. Gloucester flourished, and its visible glories were marvelously augmented after Edward II. had found a tomb there. Our Lady of Walsingham had a glorious return for the wealth which she brought to the abbey of that place in the magnificent church which attested the devotions of her worshippers.

The way in which the legends of the saints or some local history suggested the subject of decorations should rather be treated as a part of the history of the fine arts in connexion with architecture. We may however just allude to the bas-relief on the doorway of Croyland, where the life of S. Guthlac is related in several medallions of statues in the octagon, and to the Lady chapel of Ely cathedral, in which the legendary history of S. Etheldreda, and of the Blessed Virgin find in like manner their appropriate places.



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE SYMBOLISM OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

NECESSITY OF TREATING THE SUBJECT.—EARLY INSTANCES OF SYMBOLISM.  
— ROUND CHURCH AT FULDA. — DREAM OF THE MONK OF BURY. —  
AUTHORITY OF DURANDUS.—HIS RATIONALE.—DEFINITION OF SYM-  
BOLISM.—THE DEFINITION APPLIED TO VARIOUS INSTANCES.—SAXON  
SYMBOLISM. — NORMAN. — SUBSEQUENT STYLES. — SYMBOLISM STILL  
EXISTING.

FROM a modified construction of certain parts of the building due to the influence of some favourite saints, the transition is but slight to the symbolism which pervades Christian art universally, and Christian architecture in particular.

The history of ecclesiastical architecture cannot indeed be treated philosophically, without reference to the question of symbolism; for even if the whole theory involved in this term were false, it would be necessary to account for its rise and very general adoption, (though in different forms and degrees,) by recent ecclesiologists; but it is quite certain that symbolism has a real and very important existence in every branch of ecclesiastical art; and that in church architecture in particular, it has, from the beginning, much modified the general structure and the details of sacred edifices. Those who are least disposed to admit its claim to be classed among the principles of church-building, must still design their churches with submission to several laws, which have no basis but that of symbolism; and the coldest utilitarian must, in spite of himself and his principles, judge the works of an age, least of all disposed to sacrifice to the fancies of former generations, by rules to which symbolism has given existence, and all their force.

Whatever may become of particular applications of the principle, this at least is certain, that there is a symbolical spirit and a system of symbols in the ecclesiastical architecture of the first



and middle ages. Those who now interpret the symbolic language into the expression of high doctrines of our most holy faith, are not necessarily working out a fanciful system from forms and combinations in which no meaning was ever before suspected, as Quarles works out his "Emblems," or Fuller his "Thoughts," from all kinds of things and occurrences. On the contrary, the principle of symbolism is clearly asserted in parts, or as a whole, by authors who lived long before the greater part of the churches at present existing were erected, and it was acknowledged and acted upon throughout the middle ages. Of this we have abundant proof in the plain assertions of the primitive Fathers,<sup>1</sup> and even in the Canons of the early Church,<sup>2</sup> while in many cases where there is no explicit assertion of the principle of symbolism, there is what is even stronger, an unforced allusion to it, in which its general adoption is implied.<sup>3</sup>

I shall give three early and striking instances, not hitherto adduced, in which the principle is recognized, in the two first directly, in the third indirectly, but not less evidently.

William<sup>4</sup> of Malmsbury describing the church at Glastonbury, says, "In the pavement may be remarked on every side stones designedly interlaid in triangles, and squares, and figured with lead, under which, if I believe some sacred enigma to be contained, I do no injustice to religion." The value of this extract is not diminished by the way in which the Chronicler refrains, as if

<sup>1</sup> As for instance in the Pastor of Hermas, Vision III., and in the account which Eusebius gives of the plan of the Church of the Resurrection, built by Constantine.

<sup>2</sup> The Apostolic Constitutions direct that the church shall be built in the form of a ship:—

"When thou callest an assembly of the Church, as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill; charging the deacons, as mariners, to prepare places for the brethren, as for passengers, with all care and decency. And first, let the church be long, like a ship, looking towards the

east, with its vestries on either side at the east end. In the centre let the Bishop's throne be placed, and let the presbyters be seated on both sides of him; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship," &c.—Book ii. sec. 28.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the panegyrist of Paulinus in Eusebius, referred to at great length in the Essay on Sacramentality, (pp. lxx. &c.) by the translators of the first book of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of Durandus.

<sup>4</sup> Chronicle, I. 2.



in ignorance, from offering a solution of these figures on the pavement: it is enough that he evidently assumes them to have had a religious meaning.

Eigil, Abbot of Fulda, (circa A.D. 820) built, with the consent of the brethren, a little round church in the cemetery, which Candidus, the contemporary author of his life, thus describes. The part of it under the ground, where it encircles a hollow vault, rose from one stone column set in the midst, throwing out arches to the circumference on all sides; but above the ground it was raised upon eight columns, and one stone (key-stone) finished the whole work at the top. This edifice the abbot with his companions erected under Divine teaching, figuring some great thing; I know not what, but conceive that it may be considered (without derogation of the faith) a figure of CHRIST and the Church. For the Apostle Paul, who is himself called by the LORD a chosen vessel, thus speaks of the Church of CHRIST built up of living stones, that is of holy men, to be the habitation of GOD: For the temple of GOD is holy, which temple are ye; and of this structure CHRIST is the beginner and builder; the foundation and columns, ever remaining fixed by virtue of His eternal majesty, in Whom the whole building joined together increases into a holy temple in the LORD. And what the finishing of the building above with one stone signifies the same teacher declares, who will have us pray with earnest hearts, that He Who hath begun in us a good work will also finish it against the day of CHRIST; forasmuch as all our works have their beginning in GOD, and by Him what we have begun is finished. And the eight columns standing in the temple of GOD may shadow forth the eight beatitudes, which the LORD Himself sets together in the Gospel; so that those who fulfil these two quaternions of duties, deserve to be accounted props in the Church of CHRIST. But the round form of the church having no end, and encircling the principles of life, that is the Divine Sacrament, may fairly be taken to signify the kingdom of Eternal Majesty, and the hope of life everlasting, and the never-fading rewards with which the just shall be finally crowned.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the description of the church at the cemetery at

<sup>1</sup> Vita Eigilis Abb. Fuldensis. Mabillon A. S. Ben. V. 226.



Fulda in the prose narrative of Candidus : his metrical account of the same history is so nearly identical with the above, that I shall transcribe it in the note instead of the passage which I have almost literally translated.<sup>1</sup>

It can only be necessary to call attention to the strong assertions, that the abbot intended to *signify some divine thing*, that he was under the *divine teaching*, when he so arranged his work that it should serve this purpose. As for the particular interpretations so modestly suggested by Candidus, it is unimportant to the present stage of the inquiry, whether they be false or true.

The third example, which is at least equally curious, and

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| <p><sup>1</sup> " . . . . . Parvam qua corpora Fratrum<br/>Hic defuncta jacent devote namque rotundam<br/>Condidit ecclesiam, latitans qua pervia crypta<br/>Sub tellure latet, una quæ rite columna<br/>Incipit, ac supra octonis subrecta columnis,<br/>Præpulcre in summo lapide concluditur uno.<br/>Hoc opus hoc etenim divino munere docti<br/>Pastor, et ipse simul infantum Doctor honestus<br/>Cum sociis jaciunt alto sinuamine mentis,<br/>Nescio quid magni fingentes arte fecunda,<br/>Quod tamen ipse reor, salva menteque fideque,<br/>Istius Ecclesiæ et Christi præferre figuram.<br/>Templum quippe Dei Sanctum est, quod Paulus aperte<br/>Christicolas esse Christi vas personat ipse.<br/>Cujus tecturæ princeps et conditor adstat<br/>Arbiter ipse Deus, fundamentumque, columna<br/>Inconcussa manens semper virtute perenni.</p> | <p>Qua fidei merito nunc hic plebs advena Christo<br/>Subrigitur, templumque Deo coalescit in alium.<br/>Quod vero in summo lapide concluditur uno,<br/>Edocet ipse monens, intenta mente rogandum<br/>Egregius Doctor, ut qui virtute potenti in<br/>Nobis coepit opus placitum, dignetur in altum<br/>Perficere JESU, donec manifesta micando,<br/>Ac famosa dies Christi procedat in orbem.<br/>Octonæ interius stantes hincque inde columnæ,<br/>Totque beatitudinibus aptantur, ut apte.<br/>Quique quater bina hæc complentes dicta Tonantis,<br/>In hac æde Dei fulcra mereantur haberi.<br/>Circulus ecclesiæ qui nullo fine rotundus<br/>Clauditur ; interius complectens com-<br/>moda vitæ,<br/>Spem quoque vitæ perpetuæ regnumque perenne, ac<br/>Præmia mansura post hanc signare videtur,<br/>Vitam quis justî merito vittantur in ævum."—Ibid. p. 244.</p> |
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equally conclusive of a habit of giving mystical meanings to the parts of churches, occurs in the chronicles of Joscelin of Brakelond, where a dream of one of his brethren of the monastery is represented as influencing in some degree, or at least presaging, the election of an abbot of Bury S. Edmund. The interpretation of the dream turns on the mystical reference of certain portions of the church to parts of the human body; which can only have originated from the connection between the cross form of the church, and the cross on which CHRIST suffered as the instrument and symbol of His atonement.

“There sat along with us,” says the Chronicler, “another brother, Edmund by name, asserting that Sampson was about to be abbot, and narrating the vision he had seen the previous night. He said, he beheld in his dream Roger the cellarer and Hugh the third prior, standing before the altar, and Sampson in the midst, taller by the shoulders upward, wrapt round with a long gown down to his feet looped over his shoulders, and standing as a champion ready to do battle. And as it seemed to him in his dream, S. Edmund arose from his shrine, and, as if sickly, *showed his feet and naked legs*, and some one approaching and *desiring to cover the feet of the saint*, the saint said ‘Approach me not; behold, *he shall veil my feet*,’—pointing with his finger towards Sampson. This is the interpretation of the dream:—by his seeming to be a champion is signified, that the future abbot should always be in travail; at one time moving a controversy against the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the pleas of the crown, at another time against the knights of S. Edmund, to compel them to pay entire escurages, at another time with the burgesses for standing in the market, at another time with the sokemen for the suits of the hundreds; even as a champion who willeth by fighting to overcome his adversaries, that he may be able to regain the rights and liberties of his church; *but he veiled the feet of the holy martyr when he perfectly completed the towers of the church*, commenced a hundred years before. Such dreams as these did our brethren dream, which were immediately published throughout the cloister, afterwards through the court-lodge, so that before the evening it was a matter of common talk amongst the townsfolk, they saying this man and that man are elected, and one of them will be abbot.”

We now arrive, in order of time, and very conveniently for our subject, at Durandus, Bishop of Mende, in the thirteenth century, by whom the application of the principle of symbolism was carried out more largely than it had before been, in his book



entitled, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, a work alike remarkable for the direct, and for the indirect testimony, which it affords to the system : for Durandus was a man worthy of the very high estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries ; and if the character of the man gives weight to his writings, so does the value which was set upon this work in particular evince the degree in which he either led or went along with the religious feeling, and the principles of his day. The *Rationale* was the first work from the pen of an uninspired writer ever printed, and the translators enumerate nine editions between 1459 and 1609, which have come under their notice, while Chalmers mentions, besides the first, thirteen editions in the fifteenth, and as many in the sixteenth century. With the student of ecclesiastical architecture, it may perhaps have even more weight, that this book was one which William of Wykeham bequeathed expressly to his new foundation at Winchester, together with his mitre and his Bible.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed the work is worthy of the man, and of the high repute in which it was once held. But though it is fully sufficient to justify the assertion that symbolism was in his day and had long been a recognized principle in ecclesiastical art, and in the erection of churches especially, it must not be used in this question as determining the recognized or rather intended symbolical meaning of every thing to which he alludes. He himself calls his book, not a treatise on “the Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments,” but “*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*” because the *reasons* of the variations in Divine offices and their truths are therein set forth and manifested ; and he justifies his choice of a title by a very graceful allusion to the Breastplate of Judgment (*Rationale judicii* in the Vulgate, and in the Septuagint *Ασγέριον τῆς κρίσεως*) which Aaron wore, and in which were placed the Urim and Thummim, Manifestation and Truth, (*Doctrinam et Veritatem*, Vulg. τὴν δέλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, LXX.) And so in his work, his *Rationale*, the pious author proposes to set forth the *doctrine* and the *truths* expressed in the several offices of the

<sup>1</sup> Item lego collegio meo Winton. librum vocatum “Catholicon.” Item aliam mitram meam planam aurifregiatam, ac Bibliam meam usialem, item librum vocatum “Rationale Divinorum,” etc.



Church, which the prelates and priests of churches ought faithfully to preserve in the shrine of their breasts. And as the breastplate was woven of four colours and of gold; so, says he, the principles on which are founded the variations in ecclesiastical offices, take the hues of the four senses, the Historic, the Allegoric, the Tropologic, and the Anagogic, with Faith as the ground. So, for instance, Jerusalem is understood *Historically*, of that earthly city whither pilgrims journey; *Allegorically*, of the Church militant; *Tropologically*, of every faithful soul; *Anagogically*, of the celestial Jerusalem, which is our country; "but in this work," he adds, "many senses are applied, and speedy changes are made from one to another, as the diligent reader will perceive." The reader should however be *discriminating* as well as *diligent*, lest he overlook the different degrees in which those several principles, and the application of them to particular forms or usages, bear upon the question of symbolism.

In short we must not take Durandus to have accomplished more than he professes to have aimed at, or we shall assuredly either pervert his authority, or set him down as having treated fancifully, at best, a subject which will bear a far more rigid method. For instance, in his chapter on bells, he says that "the rope by which the tongue is moved against the bell is humility, or the life of the preacher, and that the same rope also showeth the measure of our own life;" and a great deal more of the same kind: now if Durandus is here taken to imply, that the bell-rope is *intended* to convey such lessons, or that it was so arranged, and left dependent, that it might convey them, we should accuse him of trifling; but if we read his words as those of a very pious man, accustomed to moralize all the offices and instruments of the Church, with which he was daily conversant, we shall find few more interesting and instructive chapters than that on bells. If we learn with him to find "Sermons in stones and good in every thing," we shall not quarrel with him because he does not either prove, or desire to prove, that every thing from which he draws a lesson was really intended to convey that lesson, or was, in the sense in which the term must be used in treating of ecclesiastical art, *symbolic*, or significant of Christian doctrine.



We may imagine the different spirit in which Durandus, and some modern advocate of ecclesiastical symbolism, would discourse on the structure and details of a Gothic church. Durandus would be reading a lesson to his own soul, from every thing around him: from the pavement he would learn humility, because the Psalmist saith, *Adhæsit pavimento anima mea*; from the windows opening wide inward, but with a narrow aperture without, he would teach his senses to present the smallest possible surface to the world, but to diffuse more widely the materials of divine contemplation; from the roof he would preach to himself the exercise of charity, because charity covereth a multitude of sins: on the other hand, the more fanciful interpreter of ancient emblems would be using these and the like sentences to prove that the mediæval architects paved their churches, because a pavement symbolizes humility; made their windows with a wider splay within than without, because the Christian has made a covenant with his eyes and other senses, not to be too much conversant with worldly things; and covered their churches with a roof, because any covering may be made by an application of Holy Writ to symbolize charity. With Durandus we would walk still in the house of our God, and seek no better guide than his *Rationale*: with his too apt pupil we should scarcely pass the threshold of the sacred edifice, without some misgivings of his fitness to read the mystic characters by which we were surrounded.

And we are persuaded that the cause of symbolism will lose nothing, by setting aside the moralizing of Durandus; for although a great part of his work is not conversant with what can be called strictly symbolical, and although he applies every kind of interpretation to whatever can be made, by any means, to render a moral or a religious lesson, yet he supplies many instances of purely symbolical interpretation. For instance, he says, "Some churches are built in the shape of a cross, to signify that we are crucified to the world, and should tread in the steps of the Crucified, according to that saying, IF ANY MAN WILL COME AFTER ME, LET HIM DENY HIMSELF, AND TAKE UP HIS CROSS, AND FOLLOW ME;" and again, in the furniture of the church, "The rail, by which the altar is divided from the choir, teacheth the separation of things celestial from things ter-



restrial." These, and many like passages, actually prove the general question so far as his authority is concerned; and also as far as the fact is concerned that a symbolic spirit was recognized in his time, in the sacred edifice, and its several parts.

Let us, before we go farther, for the credit of our own sense, and in justice to those whom we bring into the question, consider what we mean by symbolism in churches. What does, and what does not fall under that name? In the first place, then, pictures and other representations are not symbols of what they represent. It is essential to a symbol, properly so called, that it be not, nor pretend to be, a simple representation; for if it be, it loses its allusive character, it is no longer a *figure* but a *picture of the thing represented*. Thus, for instance, the figures of the Four Evangelists are not symbols of those Evangelists; but the figures of a man, an angel, an ox, and an eagle are: yet the figures of these and other servants of God may become symbols of other things, as for instance, of the Communion of Saints. A picture or figure of our LORD on the cross, is not symbolical of the Crucifixion; but certain arrangements of the several parts of the figures may symbolize particular branches of the doctrine of Atonement. A picture of the great judgment is not symbolical, but a mere representation; but the place where it is found, as on the arch between the nave and the chancel, may symbolize the truth that the judgment precedes our admission into the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Our definition also excludes from the number of symbols, strictly so called, those forms by which certain tones of religious feeling, and certain religious or political conditions, have been clothed upon, so to speak; so that the form which has grown

<sup>1</sup> I subjoin a passage from Fuller's History of Waltham Abbey, not for its spirit, or indeed for its information in a general sense, but for the clearness with which he assigns a symbolical meaning to the position which the rood holds, instead of to the rood itself. "The rood was an image of CHRIST on the cross, made generally of wood, and erected in a loft for that purpose, just

over the passage out of the church into the chancel. And *wot you what spiritual mystery was couched in this position thereof?* The church (forsooth) typified the Church militant, the chancel represents the Church triumphant: and all who will pass out of the former into the latter, must go under the rood loft: that is, carry the cross, and be acquainted with affliction."



over it and out of it, maintains a certain harmony with the plastic spiritual element. The massiveness of a Norman, or the gorgeousness of a Tudor, church, can no more be said to symbolize the sturdier or the more luxurious character of the age, to which they owed their respective forms, than the shape and texture of a man's jerkin can be said to symbolize his size and character. They stand in the relation of the effect to the cause, not in that of the symbol to its antitype. If I find a richly embroidered shirt of a certain size, I do not recognize in it a symbol of the existence of a man of such a height and such a degree of refinement or foppery. It indicates the existence of such a man, it is true, but it is not a figure of the man, or of his conditions, even in the laxest sense of the term, still less in the restricted sense of a symbol. And so such results of the power of the immaterial and moral over the material, may express the pervading feeling of the Church; and they may suggest it afterwards, and even by-and-bye they may symbolize it, having been adopted for that purpose; but they do not symbolize it by the simple fact that they arise out of it by an unconscious growth.

Thus its verticality, the most fascinating, the most distinctive characteristic of Gothic architecture, will cease to be accounted symbolic, if it has no other claim than its growth out of the upward aspirations of Christians:<sup>1</sup> if this principle arose unconsciously out of the doctrines of the Church, and was never avowedly adopted to embody their spirit to the sense, they have still a beauty and propriety which we maintain against all comers; but they can hardly be said to symbolize the Resurrection, or our hope of immortality. If, however, they were afterwards accepted as embodying these doctrines, and used thenceforward on that account, or even inclusively with that intention, then are they among the legitimate symbolisms of ecclesiastical architecture.

<sup>1</sup> We have already seen in the last chapter, that the verticality of Gothic architecture has a constructive, and not a mystical origin, or even a growth out of invisible tendencies or associations of Churchmen. But our argu-

ment is, that even in the latter supposition it would not *therefore* be symbolical, though it might the more probably be accepted as, and *so* become symbolical in future ages.



Excluding pictures and sculpture therefore, as such, and also forms which are characteristic of those with whom they originated, though not intended to embody character, we include under the term symbols, first and chiefly, whatever in itself, its accidents or accessories, was originally designed, besides its direct use, to signify some doctrine or Christian rule, state, or privilege; and secondly, whatever has been since its first introduction accepted as conveying such a meaning, and afterwards on that account chosen before other things equally useful, but not accepted as expressive. This definition, of course, excludes all necessary parts of a building, as the walls or the roof, simply as such; but it does not exclude any arbitrary forms or arrangements of these which might or might not be otherwise: as, for instance, orientation, and the ship-like excess of length over breadth.

Every church must point some way, but that all, (to speak generally, and the exceptions are few in England,) point one way, and that way towards the east, indicates a design beyond any constructive convenience; and we find that the design actually was to point to the place of the rising sun, the symbol of the Christian's Saviour, and of his future expectations.<sup>1</sup> Most churches without any especial meaning would be longer in one direction than another, but the very name of nave, or *navis*, for the longer part of the church, together with the Apostolical Canons before referred to, and the constant use of a ship as a type of the Church in the Sacred Scriptures, and in all theology, have sanctified a form which would otherwise have been indifferent, into the type of a mystery.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As examples and authorities are always interesting, in proportion as they are connected with manners and customs, I transcribe from Staveley the following paragraph from an ancient homily to be read at Church wakes:—  
“Lete us think that CRIST dyed in the Este, and therefore lete us pray besely into the Este, that we may be of the nombre that He died for, and lete us think that He shall coome out of the Este to the doom: wherefore lete us pray heretily to Him allsoe, and besely, that wee may have grace and contrition

in our hartes for our misdeeds, with shrift and satisfaction, that wee may stond that day on the right honde of our LORD JESU CRIST, &c.”—Staveley, pp. 155, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Bede in his book “De Linguis Gentium” says, the ark of Noah is doubtless a type of the Church; and he distributes its chambers thus, “*Hic* (*i.e.* at the top) Noe and his signify the body of CHRIST; *hic* (also in the roof) the birds are the type of the Martyrs; *hic* (below them) the sheep are the type of virginity; *hic* (lower down)



Neither does our definition exclude those things which have been first employed, simply for their constructive use, but have acquired a meaning since; as, for instance, pillars, which were obviously anterior in their use to any Christian symbolism, but which were afterwards in many cases clearly designed to signify the Apostles,<sup>1</sup> or other eminent saints.

I have been thus careful in excluding false symbolism, as well as asserting the general principle, because I believe that one great effort of the advocate of the principles of symbolism must be to guard against the very strong temptation to find symbols everywhere, and where they cannot be found, to invent them. The mere arbitrary assigning of a symbolical meaning to what there is no proof was ever used or accepted as symbolical, is surely unscientific. We involuntarily demur when, without a single argument that bears directly on the question, we find it asserted that certain windows symbolize the Wounds in our LORD'S Side and in His Feet; or that in order "to denote that all that the Church has, and all she is, is from above, the stringcourse, springing from the eastern triplet, runs round the whole church, (often both within and without,) binding it, as it were, in, and connecting every other light, with those at the east."<sup>2</sup> When we find that such applications are gravely made of the principle of symbolism, we either start aside from the thing itself, or shrewdly suspect that our friends have taken the words of John Bunyan as their motto,

"Having now my method by the end,  
Still as I pulled it came."

We conclude, then, that to accept all the recent attempts to find symbolical meanings in churches, and in their different details; or even to convert all the moral reflections of Durandus upon the parts of churches into legitimate symbolical interpretations, would be to admit that there is a *dormant* symbolism in

those animals which do not eat flesh are a type of wedlock; *hic* (lower still) the animals which eat flesh are a type of violent men and sinners; *hic* (lowest of all) where they throw the dung, is a type of hell."

<sup>1</sup> And this as early at least as the time of Constantine, who surrounded the Holy Sepulchre with twelve pillars, after the number of the Apostles.

<sup>2</sup> Essay on Sacramentality, p. lxli.



ecclesiastical art, which any one may awaken at any time, and in the most arbitrary manner ; an assertion which respect for the principles of symbolism forbids us to admit. But it is undoubtedly true, and most important, that there is a *nascent* and *germinant* symbolism in ecclesiastical art, arising out of its appropriateness to its several purposes, and out of the law which imposes on material forms something in harmony with the wants or feelings out of which they have grown. Such forms are ever ready to *become* (though they were not so originally) symbols of that ritualism to which they owed their existence, and of that character which they at first expressed by a law quite distinct from that of symbols. And the bursting forth of these forms into a new life, instinct with a recognized meaning, is a highly interesting and practical part of the history of symbolism, and of the reciprocal influence of ecclesiastical art, and of Christian doctrine on each other. And at the present revival of church architecture, it becomes a question how far on this ground many forms which were perhaps not accepted as symbolical in the sixteenth century, yet having had a soul given to them by the expression of the deep feelings of reverent men, awakened by them and associated with them, are not now to be recognized as symbolical, and their use exacted, or at least desired on that account in future religious edifices.

It is almost superfluous to remark, that besides this *nascent* and *germinant* symbolism, there is that which had from its first existence the fulness of its life and vigour, and sprang forth, (as Minerva from the head of Jupiter,) complete in itself, not waiting for its force till it was adopted, or interpreted, but symbolical in its very birth and first intention. Such is the symbolism of the Atonement by the cross-form of our churches, and of the separate orders in the Church by its separation into nave and chancel, after the type of the Holy place, and the Holy of Holies. Such are also some of the essential symbolisms of branches of ecclesiastical art ancillary to architecture, as of painting and sculpture : the distinguishing marks of the virgins, martyrs, and confessors among saints ; and of particular saints in each company : such emblems of the Atonement as the pelican in her piety ; of the Holy Eucharist as the Lamb pouring its blood into a chalice ; of the offices or states of CHRIST as the good Shep-



herd, or the Lamb triumphant. Such again are the emblematical allusions in the rich surface-carving of early times, and afterwards in the capitals, brackets, or bosses which so richly adorn our finest churches; as for instance, the Christian soldier opposing a shield charged with a cross to the attacks of fiery serpents, in which the Christian vow in Holy Baptism is figured;<sup>1</sup> the birds making their nests in the foliage of a capital, in allusion to the text, "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even Thine altars, O LORD of Hosts."<sup>2</sup> But in such instances as the latter, we must distinguish between a *representation* and a *symbol*. *Except in the Church*, these would be mere renderings of a parable in the language of sculpture: *in the Church*<sup>3</sup> they symbolize the truth that the house of God is a refuge for the meek and lowly.

Having now endeavoured, with what success we do not venture to say, to clear the general subject from some misrepresentations and confusion of terms, we may give a short summary of the history of symbolism in its effects on ecclesiastical architecture in England.

There are but very few remains of Saxon architecture of such extent as to retain what may originally have presented a symbolic arrangement. We find, however, in ground plans, the

<sup>1</sup> On the font of Thorpe Ernald, in Leicestershire.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm lxxxiv. 3. See also Psalm civ. 16, 17, and S. Matthew xiii. 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps in a conventual church there may be a more restricted application of this figure in the way of symbolical representation. Gildas, in his reproof of Maglocune, (the impersonation doubtless of a class) who seems to have broken his monastic vow, applies this figure to that more limited number of Christians, who have taken refuge in a monastic life from the temptations of the world. "Didst thou not as a dove, which cleaves the yielding air with its pinions, and by its rapid turns escapes the furious hawk,

safely return to the cells where the saints repose, as a most certain place of refuge?" And Archdeacon Churton translates a Saxon version of the 84th Psalm in the same spirit.

"LORD, to me Thy minsters are  
Courts of honour, passing fair:  
And my spirit deems it well  
There to be, and there to dwell:  
Heart and flesh would fain be there,  
LORD, Thy life, Thy love to share.

There the sparrow speeds her home,  
And in time the turtles come,  
Safe their nestling young they rear,  
LORD of Hosts, Thine altars near;  
Dear to them Thy grace,—but more  
To the souls who there adore."



principle of orientation recognized; we find the ternary arrangement into nave and aisles, which is symbolical of the doctrine of the Trinity; and in one church, that at Brixworth, there seems to have been a three-fold chancel-arch, intensifying the former symbol. We know of two Saxon churches only which were built in the form of a cross,<sup>1</sup> so far as we can learn from existing remains, that of Worth, in Sussex, and that in the castle at Dover.<sup>2</sup> The cross-form is so evidently to be referred to the intention of figuring the Atonement, that there can be no hesitation in admitting this among the highest of pure symbols employed by the Saxons: the division of the body of the church into nave and aisles may have been, and indeed certainly was, adopted from the Roman basilica, but it was retained and consecrated by perpetual use in the Church, while other basilican arrangements were at once modified, and gradually dropped. The division of the church into nave and chancel, signifying and effecting the distinction between the clergy and the laity, and also symbolizing the separation between the Church below and the Church above, and the entrance into the latter through the "triumphal" or chancel-arch of death, may be added to the symbolical arrangements of churches before the Norman invasion. In details we have the spire, though at present very low, as in the illuminations of Cædmon's paraphrase, (where it is surmounted by the cock,) and in the representation of Bosham church, in the Bayeux tapestry; and we have the constructive use of bonding courses set upright, instead of horizontally, as in Roman masonry, originating the vertical lines of after styles, so that we have already, what has at length, if never before, been admitted into the rank of symbols as a figure of the Christian's aspirations after his heavenly home.

The Norman era rejected none of the older symbolisms, but as a natural consequence of the progress of architecture, and of

<sup>1</sup> But sufficient stress does not seem to have been laid on the cross-form of every church that has west tower, a nave with aisles, and a chancel.

<sup>2</sup> According to the plan given by Dr. Stukeley in the first vol. of the *Archæologia*, the old church of the

sanctuary at Westminster, (which he says was at least of the age of Edward the Confessor, though, if his drawing be correct, it is most likely at least two centuries later,) was in the form of a *Greek cross*. A very rare form in England.



the arts, and also by direct purpose to symbolize additional truth, added several new ones. The ground plan even of small churches now often assumes a longitudinal, as well as a lateral ternary arrangement; and that for no apparent purpose, but simply that it may afford an additional figure of the great Christian doctrine of the Trinity. The same doctrine finds its expression in the three arcades of the interior, the nave-arches, the triforium, and the clerestory; and in the exterior elevation of the larger churches in that most glorious expression of a glorious truth, the three towers. In the absence of all evidence, (which indeed cannot in the nature of things be had,) we should be disposed to refer the former of these arrangements to adopted, the latter to intended symbolisms: at any rate their hold was soon fully established, and they were worthy of the high office universally committed to them. The excessive number and variety of carvings in the richer Norman churches, full of meaning as they generally are, seem to render the history of symbolism in Norman ecclesiastical *decorations* very complicated; but we shall find it much simplified by a little careful arrangement. And first of all, *mere representations* of the events connected with the church or neighbourhood are *not symbols*, but only *picture histories*. So also a parable or an allegory represented in stone, continues still but a parable or allegory, or a kind of homily upon it, or application of it, but not at all in the way of symbol, not so as to heighten, but only so as to retain the figure already there. The same is true of the representation of Scripture history. A sculpture of our LORD's Baptism or Crucifixion, in a Norman church, is no more necessarily symbolical, than a painting of the same subject by Raphael or Michael Angelo; but the position of such a subject may give it a symbolical meaning; as the Baptism of our LORD, not uncommon on Norman fonts, symbolizes the truth that by His Baptism water is sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin: and the Crucifixion on the chancel-arch indicates that through the death of CHRIST only is our death the way to eternal life. Of this class of symbols the number is well nigh infinite in the surface-sculpture of the Normans.

We would state then the amount of symbolism in the Norman era thus. The great lines of the ground plan and elevation still



symbolize the distinction between the clergy and the laity, and between the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, and also the great mysteries of the Trinity and the Atonement. And besides these, the great amount of surface-carving being highly figurative in some of its devices, and capable of a symbolical meaning by the position in which it was placed, or some occasional adjunct, affords many symbolisms of detail, in which the great truths of the Gospel, its laws and privileges, are brought down to the individual, and addressed to him in a practical form.

The theory of symbolisms seems now perfected, though its developement was still progressing. In the next style we lose in a great degree the surface-decoration, and the carved mouldings, and with them much of the symbolism of *details*; but we are amply compensated by the greater developement of the symbolism of *numbers*. It is difficult to divest the prosecution of this branch of the subject of the appearance of trifling, in the eyes of those who do not know the degree in which the very greatest Fathers of the Church carried their mystical use and interpretation of numbers. To adduce a few examples would convey no adequate idea of this;<sup>1</sup> the truth is, that wherever numbers are mentioned in Holy Writ, there the Fathers found that they had a mystical, as well as an historic meaning: and we are bold to say that the Bible itself fully sanctions the *principle* of such interpretations, by the obviously mystic character which it gives to certain numbers,—as for instance, to three and to seven. From the writings of the Fathers, the like use of numbers passed into the several branches of ecclesiastical art. We have already noted a triplicity of arrangements indicating the

<sup>1</sup> We will give, however, one passage from our own Venerable Bede, in which he adopts the principle on which a mystical interpretation is given to numbers. "Isidore says, in his *praises of numeration*, that the hidden meaning (ratio) of numbers, is worthy of note, for there are many places of Holy Writ in which they evidently contain a great mystery, nor is it said in vain that God made all things by measure, number, and weight. The

number six for instance, which is perfect in its parts, expresses the perfection of the world in the language of numbers: and so the forty days which Moses and Elias, and the Lord Himself fasted, cannot be understood, without respect to the significancy of numbers. And there are other numbers in Holy Writ whose meaning cannot be reached without the science of computation."—*Beda de Computo*.



doctrine of the Trinity: we find this now carried down to the parts of the fabric, especially to the windows, in which the number three begins to prevail, especially at the east end, or the part where whatever is mystical most delights to dwell. We have also far more frequently, (and indeed it soon becomes all but universal,) the octagonal form for the font.<sup>1</sup> In the early Decorated, the geometric forms in the windows afford occasion to an almost indefinite use of the symbolism of numbers. We give a few examples from the Essay on Sacramentality, with the interpretations there suggested, but with some hesitation in admitting the more recondite meanings.

"The south transept of Chichester Cathedral is a glorious specimen of Decorated symbolism. In the gable is a Marygold, containing two intersecting equilateral *tri*-angles: the *six* apices of these are *sex*-foiled: the interior *hexagon* is beautifully worked in *six* leaves. The lower window seven lights: in the head is an equilateral spherical *tri*-angle, containing a large *tre*-foil, intersected by a smaller *tre*-foil. Here we have the HOLY TRINITY, the Divine Attributes, the perfection of the DEITY.

"The next element introduced was the consideration of the six attributes of the DEITY. One of the simplest examples was to be found in the west window of the north aisle of S. Nicolas, at Guildford: a plain circle, containing six *tre*-foils: these are arranged in two *tri*-angles, each containing *three tre*-foils, and the two sets are varied.

"The east end of Chichester is rather earlier, but introduces yet another element. Here we have a triplet: and at some height above it, a wheel-window of seven circles: symbolizing therefore eternity and perfection.

"We are now in a purely Decorated age. And as one of its earliest windows we may mention that in the Bishop of Winchester's Palace at Southwark. It was a wheel and contained two intersecting equilateral *tri*-angles: around them were *six sex*-foiled triangles, the hexagon in the centre containing a star of *six* great and *six* smaller rays. Here of course, [!] the Blessed Trinity and the Divine and Human Natures were set forth.

"The east window of Bristol Cathedral is of seven lights, but so much prominence is given to the three central ones, as strongly to set forth the MOST HOLY TRINITY: over them is a crown of six leaves and by the numerous winged foliations around them, the Heavenly Hierarchy may, very probably, be understood."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Essay on Sacramentality, pp. lxlii. *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This form is symbolical, according to the ancient method of spiritualizing numbers, of the new birth in Baptism: for the seven days' creation

of the natural world is symbolized by the number seven; and the new creation by CHRIST JESUS, by the number eight, in allusion to the eighth day, on which He rose again from the dead. And this reason S. Ambrose, more than



After this time, as the authors now quoted justly observe, there was no addition made to the structure, and but little to the vocabulary of the language of symbols; but we may close this chapter with an instance in which the voice of after ages has consecrated a beautiful character of Gothic architecture, into the symbolical expression of certain glorious characteristics of the Christian faith and people, by which it was unconsciously developed.

Struck by its peculiar character, Coleridge calls a Gothic church "the petrification of our religion," and the same possessor of many gifts compares Pagan and Gothic architecture in such terms as these: "The Greek art is beautiful. When I enter a Greek church, my eye is charmed, and my mind elated: I feel exalted and proud that I am a man. But the Gothic art is sublime. On entering a cathedral, I am filled with devotion and with awe; I am lost to the actualities that surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite; earth and air, nature and art, all swell up into eternity, and the only sensible impression left is, *that I am nothing.*"<sup>1</sup>

That character which has called forth such testimonies may well be admitted among the recognized symbolisms of church architecture: and to descend to particular features, the taper spire "that points to heaven," cannot be without its recognized meaning, since it has inspired Wordsworth to *say* that spires "point as with silent finger to the sky and stars, and sometimes, when they reflect the brazen light of a rich, though rainy sunset, appear like a pyramid of flame burning heavenward;" and to *sing*,

"Watching, with upturned eye, the tall tower grow,  
And mount, at every step, with living wiles  
Instinct—to rouse the heart and lead the will,  
By a bright ladder to the world above."

fourteen centuries ago, assigned for the octagonal form of the Baptistery:

"Octachorum sanctos templum sur-  
rexit in usus,  
Octagonus fons est, munere dignus  
eo,  
Hoc numero decuit sacri baptismatis  
aulam

Surgere, quo populis vera salus rediit  
Luce resurgentis Christi, qui claustra  
resolvit  
Mortis, et a tumulis suscitaret ex-  
animes."

<sup>1</sup> Literary Remains of S. T. Coleridge, i. 71.



Such developements of the awfulness and verticality of Gothic art are now no longer without a soul of symbolical meaning: they have shot forth into holy life, like the budding rod of Aaron, which was ever after religiously preserved in the ark of the Covenant, as a testimony.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE ROUND CHURCHES IN ENGLAND.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM.—S. SEPULCHRE'S, CAMBRIDGE:—S. SEPULCHRE'S, NORTHAMPTON.—THE TEMPLE.—LITTLE MAPLESTED.

BOTH from their date and from their importance as instances of symbolical arrangements, an account of the round churches in England ought to follow the two last chapters.

Of these memorials of the sufferings and achievements of pilgrims, and of a religious chivalry in the Holy Land, four still remain in England: the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge, the church of the same name and dedication at Northampton, the Temple church in London, and the church of Little Maplested in Essex, and to these perhaps may be added the chapel in the castle of Ludlow.

From the time of our SAVIOUR'S Ascension, and of the descent of the HOLY GHOST at Pentecost, the city of Jerusalem contained its Christian Church; and its succession of bishops, with whatever else is essential to the well-being of a Church, was never interrupted, except during the short, though cruel intervals of siege and persecution, to which Jerusalem has been so frequently subjected. Nor were the sacred places of which the mother of all Churches could boast interesting to her more immediate children only. From all parts of Christendom pilgrims came to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, and in many other places within and around the Holy City, consecrated by our SAVIOUR'S presence. That the immediate disciples of our LORD should forget the spots so hallowed to their affections, would be impossible; and almost equally so, that they should neglect to point them out to their children, and their children's children. Among these, none received greater regard than the place of



our LORD's burial; and in this instance, the heathens, in their determination to rob the Christians of their spiritual title in the sacred spot, unwittingly assisted in perpetuating its remembrance. A temple of Venus was built over the Holy Sepulchre, and it was thenceforth a matter of history, no longer subjected to the less tangible evidence of tradition, that on that spot the tomb of our SAVIOUR was to be found.

The piety of Constantine the first Christian emperor, and of his mother Helena, hastened, so soon as it was in their power, to cleanse the sacred spot from this pollution, and to crown the Holy Mount with a better temple, open to the devout worshippers of JESUS CHRIST. The temple of Venus was destroyed; the ground was cleared; the Holy Sepulchre was found undestroyed, beneath many feet of soil, and soon a beautiful church was erected over it. This church, called the Church of the Resurrection, was circular, enshrining the Holy Sepulchre around which it was built; and from this circular form of Constantine's Church of the Resurrection, the round churches of which we are about to speak were imitated.

But the munificence of Constantine did not cease here. The *death* of our LORD, as well as His *resurrection*, was to be commemorated; and eastward of the round church already mentioned, but connected with it by a court open to the heavens, and surrounded by a corridor, he built a much larger church, called the Martyrium; and of this also we shall find a counterpart in the four round churches in England.

The Church of the Resurrection, however, after having been visited by pilgrims for three centuries, was destroyed by fire at the sacking of Jerusalem by Cosroes II. The emperor Heraclius rescued the holy city from the Persians; and though it fell soon after into the hands of the Arabian followers of Mahomet, the resort of Christians to the Holy Sepulchre can scarcely be said to have been checked by the Moslem lords of Jerusalem. The Khalif Harun el Rashid even sent to Charlemagne the keys of the church, in token of the free admission which he granted to the Christians, "to that sacred and salutary place."

But the rule of the Egyptians was more adverse to Christian pilgrims. By the orders of Hakem, who commenced his reign in 996, the Church of the Resurrection was utterly destroyed,



and even the cave itself was preserved only by the natural indestructibility of its materials. The church was again rebuilt by the patriarch Nicephorus, with funds from the imperial treasury of Constantine Monomachus; but the Christians still groaned under heavy burdens, which were rather increased than lightened when the Holy City again changed masters, and fell under the despotic rule of the Turks. Such was the state of the Christians until the voice of Peter the Hermit, at the very end of the eleventh century, aroused all Europe to the defence of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and to the recovery of the Holy City from the hands of infidels.

The church which the first crusaders found, was not, therefore, the same which Constantine the Great had erected, though on the same spot, and probably very much on the same plan; that is, there was a circle, or perhaps a double circle of columns, with their outer wall, surrounding the sacred cave; and eastward of this, the larger Church of the Martyrdom, connected with the Church of the Resurrection, by an uncovered court. Within these were many spots consecrated by various parts of our SAVIOUR'S sufferings or triumph. And this is all that we shall require by way of comparison with the English churches which we are about to describe; nor need we more than glance at the fact, that the present church, re-edified since its almost total destruction by fire in the beginning of this century, still presents evidences in its architectural features, of the work of the pilgrim Christians of the twelfth century, in the enlargement and adornment of the sacred edifice.

We may well believe that the Christians who returned from their devout pilgrimage would gladly erect memorials in their own country, of the glorious and spirit-stirring sights of the Holy City; and this natural wish was expressed in the erection of churches, in some degree at least similar to that of the Resurrection. Of these, three have perished; Temple-Bruer, and Aislabey, in Lincolnshire, and the Old Temple in Holborn. Four yet remain, the first of which in order of time, and not the last in beauty, is THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN CAMBRIDGE.

The ancient and round portion of this church consists of an outer circular wall, with a rich Norman doorway, opening into



an aisle, which embraces a central round, resting on eight circular piers, and finished above with a clerestory, surrounded by an arcade, pierced with eight lights, and finished with a conical roof. The piers are low and massive, without bases, and with capitals of varied designs. The arches are all circular, and some of them adorned with the zigzag moulding, so characteristic of the Norman style. To this part of the church is added a chancel, and two aisles, of Perpendicular character, with an octangular bell-turret at the north-west angle of the north aisle; and thus the present church consists of a circular nave and aisle, with the chancel and its north and south aisle and bell-turret, extending eastward from the round. In the interior the effect is greatly heightened by the introduction of rich painted glass, and an appropriate style of furniture and decoration throughout. The round is, of course, the part of most interest, and here the windows bear, many of them, reference to the history of the Church. One represents the Resurrection, with an obvious allusion to the Church of the Resurrection, after which, as we have stated, this church is designed. Another is of the VENERABLE BEDE, the great historian of our early Church, who is said, (but on the authority of a tradition which will not bear minute canvassing,) to have resided for a time between the site of S. Sepulchre, and that of S. John's College; and who happens to be the only person who has handed down to these times a description of the round churches existing in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> in his day. Another window represents S. Etheldreda, whose history is connected with Ely, in which diocese the church is situated. The

<sup>1</sup> Bede's account of the holy places in Jerusalem, abridged from Adam-man, who had it from Arculf, a French Bishop, who had himself visited the holy city.

“Entering the city of Jerusalem on the north side, the first place to be visited, according to the disposition of the streets, is the Church of Constantine, called the Martyrdom. It was built by the Emperor Constantine, in a royal and magnificent manner, on account of the Cross of our LORD having been found there by his mother

Helen. From hence, to the westward, appears the church of Golgotha, in which is also to be seen the rock which once bore the Cross, with our SAVIOUR'S body fixed on it, and now it bears a large silver cross, with a great brazen wheel hanging over it surrounded with lamps. Under the place of our LORD'S Cross a vault is hewn out of the rock, in which sacrifice is offered on an altar for honourable persons deceased, their bodies remaining meanwhile in the street. To the westward of this is the Anastasis,



east window of the chancel, which appears to great advantage on immediately entering the church, is of beautiful painted glass, representing the Crucifixion, with the figures of the ever blessed Virgin, and the beloved Apostle, as they are associated with the cross of CHRIST in mediæval art, on the authority of the Holy Gospel.

This is a cursory description of the church as it now appears, after having been restored with great taste, and at a vast expense, by the Cambridge Camden Society. It is greatly to be regretted that a question very indirectly touching architectural proprieties should have occurred to take the work out of the Society's hands; and no one can approve of the taste and judgment displayed in the few alterations which have been made since they resigned their task of restoration. Into the polemical question of course we do not enter. The appearance of S. Sepulchre, before a fall of part of the round admitted the care of the Society in its restoration, was quite as indicative of the bad taste of comparatively recent generations, as of the piety and genius of the Crusaders. The round had been deformed by the insertion of most incongruous windows, both below and in the clere-story; while the latter had been made to bear the additional weight of another story, which was finished in all its details in

that is, the round church of our SAVIOUR'S resurrection, encompassed with three walls, and supported by twelve columns. Between each of the walls is a broad space, containing three altars, at three different points of the middle wall; to the north, the south, and the west, it has eight doors or entrances, through the three opposite walls: four whereof front to the north-east, and four to the south-east. In the midst of it is the round tomb of our LORD, cut out of the rock, the top of which a man standing within can touch: the entrance is on the east: against it is laid the great stone, which to this day bears the marks of the iron tools within, but on the outside it is all covered with marble, to the very top of the roof, which is adorned with

gold, and bears a large golden cross. In the north part of the monument, the tomb of our LORD is hewn out of the same rock, seven feet in length, and three palms above the floor; the entrance being on the south side, where twelve lamps burn day and night, four within the sepulchre, and eight above, on the right hand side. The stone that was laid on the entrance of the monument is now cleft in two; nevertheless the lesser part of it stands as a square altar before the door of the monument; the greater part makes another square altar at the east end of the same church, and is covered with linen cloths. The colour of the said monument and sepulchre appears to be white and red."—Eccl. Hist. v. 16.



a late Perpendicular character. The chancel and north aisle were altogether unworthy of the fabric to which they were appended.

We have described this church before adverting to its history, because, as usual, the architectural character is as valuable in ascertaining its date and destination as any existing records. The character of the round takes us back to the very beginning of the twelfth century, or rather, to the last few years of the eleventh; and it appears from a MS. in the Bodleian Library that it was consecrated in 1101. For the rest, we know nothing, except what its form and its dedication tell us. It was certainly erected by some one interested in, or connected with the Crusades, and, most probably, that prayers might be offered in it for the success of those religious expeditions. But it cannot owe its erection to the Templars, who did not exist till 1118, and who did not obtain possessions in England until 1134.

S. SEPULCHRE'S, Northampton, is the next in antiquity, but so far as regards its most ancient portion, and that which entitles it to a place in the present chapter, it is far inferior to the former. Its erection is referred with some degree of probability to Simon S Liz, second Earl of Northampton, and a Crusader, who died A.D. 1127. In size it much surpasses the Cambridge church of the same name, but in architectural beauty it is at least as much its inferior. Like that, it consists of a central portion, supported by eight Norman circular pillars; but the arches are pointed, though the plain flat soffits are far less elegant than the well-moulded semicircles of the older structure. The present roof, both to the round and to the outer portion, is of wood; and, as there are no vaulting shafts, or other indications of a better covering, it is probable that it was always so. The central portion becomes octagonal immediately above the piers. Of course the original buttresses and windows throughout, are the shallow square buttresses, and narrow round-headed lights of the Norman period; but later windows are inserted everywhere; and walls of great thickness, and of a shape as little liable to disturbance as any, have been so shaken in the process, that the far-projecting buttresses of later styles have been rendered necessary. The present porch is to the south, and at the north is an ancient doorway, now blocked up. If there was ever a west porch, its place is occupied by a beautiful



tower and spire, of which the composition cannot be too much commended. It is early Perpendicular in character; the far-projecting diagonal corner buttresses of the tower bring down the line of the spire to the ground with great effect. The chancel and its two aisles, opening out of the round eastward, do not in their present state, harmonize at all with the round; although the piers and arches between the chancel and the north aisle are of so early a character, that they form doubtless a part of the original plan, though not erected until the Early English style had assumed its distinct character. The external aspect of these parts of the church would lead us to assign the north aisle to the close of the thirteenth century, the south aisle to the middle of the next, and the chancel to the fifteenth century; but more minute inspection shows that they have been rather altered than erected at those periods. In the interior of the chancel are some curious corbels supporting the roof, representing grotesques playing on musical instruments; among others, the organ, the fiddle, the fife, and the double drum; but there is little worthy of remark in this portion of the fabric.

We cannot leave this church without expressing very sore regret, that it does not find some sympathy in its extreme destitution from the inhabitants of the wealthy town in which it is situated. Even in its present condition, it is one of the most interesting objects in the neighbourhood, and this it can never cease to be; but it is also one of the most melancholy objects, which it need not remain, nor can remain long, without becoming a reproach to the town.

The two churches already described cannot, with absolute certainty, be assigned to their proper founders; only their very name, as well as what would, on any other hypothesis, be the mere accident of their form, connects them with the devotions of pilgrims to the original Round Church of the Resurrection. But the TEMPLE CHURCH, London, and the church of Little Mapleston, are more closely associated with the two great religious orders of chivalry, the Templars and the Hospitalers, who were bound by the most solemn vows to the defence of pilgrims to Jerusalem. The Templars had already a church in Oldbourne, now Holborn, before the erection of the present church was commenced; and the latter, when finished, was called the



“New Temple,” with reference to the more ancient foundation. The older edifice, like this, was round, and though not, in all probability, so sumptuous, had yet been built at great cost; for it was of Caen stone, as appeared when some of its remains were discovered at the beginning of the last century. The present church consists of a circular portion, and, eastward of this, of a chancel, with its two aisles, answering in relative position to the martyrium, connected with the Church of the Resurrection, as built by Constantine, and perpetuated through all its changes to the present day. The round, then called the New Temple, was consecrated in 1185 by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, on his arrival in England to obtain succour from Henry II. against Saladin—an event still commemorated by an inscription over the door leading to the cloisters, of which the following is a translation:—“ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY, IN THE YEAR FROM THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1185, THIS CHURCH WAS CONSECRATED IN HONOUR OF THE BLESSED MARY, BY THE LORD HERACLIUS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD PATRIARCH OF THE CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION, WHO HAS REMITTED SIXTY DAYS OF ENJOINED PENANCE TO ALL WHO VISIT IT ANNUALLY.” Whether this inscription was of the date of the church cannot be determined, for it was destroyed by the workmen employed in repairs after a fire by which it had been much injured, in 1695; but there can be no question that it rightly records the event of the dedication. The oblong portion of this church was consecrated on Ascension Day, 1240; and in this, as in the former case, the architectural features fully answer to the historical mention of the event.<sup>1</sup>

The church is entered at the west by an elaborate Norman doorway, which formerly communicated with a cloister leading from the hall of the Knights Templars. The round, as in all

<sup>1</sup> Like the church of S. Sepulchre, in Cambridge, the Temple Church has been recently restored; but it is the highest praise of those who planned and executed the restoration, that it may still, in all essential features, be described according to the ancient appearance. We have, indeed, made a great advance in good taste and good

feeling, when a learned body, but of a secular profession, have devoted upwards of £50,000 to the legitimate restoration of a sacred edifice, which they have inherited from an age and order full of high and holy associations, and perfect in its style of ecclesiastical art.



other cases of the like kind, consists of a circle of columns, supporting a tower, and of an external circular wall, forming a kind of aisle to the central portion. In this instance the piers are six in number, each consisting of four columns springing from the same base, and again joined at the capitals, but disengaged through the whole height of the shafts, except where a fillet connects them at their mid-height. From these columns spring pointed arches, over which runs a triforium, behind an arcade of semicircular and intersecting arches; and over these again are six clerestory windows of the pure Norman character. The roof is groined, the ribs springing from vaulting shafts which rise from the capitals of the several pillars. The outer round is also vaulted, and lighted by Norman circular-headed windows. Over the west door is a wheel-window of eight lights. The lower portion of the wall is relieved by shafts springing from a stone bench which is carried along the whole circumference, and supporting an arcade of pointed arches, the spandrels of which are decorated with grotesque heads.

Although this part of the church agrees perfectly with its Norman date, an eye practised in distinguishing architectural features will at once detect intimations of the approach of the next style, especially in the pointed arcade and pier arches, and in the banding of the shafts. The square portion of the church, which opens into the round by three lofty pointed arches, is of pure and highly developed Early English. The pillars, which are of a very elegant section, are light and lofty. The roofs are all groined. The windows are triple lancets throughout. More minute features it would be impossible to notice in so hasty a sketch.

The richness of the whole structure is in some respect due to the materials, as well as to the beauty of the design. The shafts throughout, both the greater shafts supporting the roof, and those purely ornamental in the arcades, are of Purbeck marble. The floor was of encaustic tiles, and has been restored after the same fashion. The roof was gorgeously painted, and it has been adorned once more with an equal profusion of colours. The windows were of stained glass, and they are again filled with the same gorgeous material; and in these, and the painting of the roof, both executed by Mr. Willement, (to whom the art of painting



in glass owes so much,) great attention is paid to the suitability of decoration, as regards both age and subject: the insignia of the Templars appearing everywhere in various forms, together with such theological emblems and devices as were commonly used at the time to which the erection of the church is referred. Although beautiful in themselves, perhaps the benches, in their design and arrangement, reflect less credit on the learned restorers of this ancient edifice than any other part. But every praise does not fall to the lot of one generation, and to be first in action, and to profit by the experience of others, are incompatible.

THE CHURCH OF LITTLE MAPLESTED is dedicated to S. John of Jerusalem, the Patron Saint of the Hospitalers, to whom it owes its erection. In 1186 the whole parish was given to this chivalrous order by Juliana, daughter and heir of Robert Dornelli, and wife of William Fitz Andelin, steward to Henry II. Here therefore, a commandery was erected. The church, still remaining, carries us back to the times at which the knights flourished in wealth, reputation, and true greatness.

In size this church is inferior to either of the other three; but it is even more remarkable in some respects; for the whole, with the exception of the porch, is of the original design and execution; and the chancel with its semicircular apse still more closely resembles the Church of the Martyrium, so often before alluded to, than the same relative portions of the churches before mentioned.

Of the commandery, once a part of the same Christian establishment, not a vestige remains; but the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem, if they retained their religious character, would not be the last to submit, cheerfully, to the decree of Providence, which has preserved the memorials of their faith to future ages, while the signs of their power and splendour are utterly swept away.



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE CONNECTION OF HERALDRY WITH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

SYNCHRONISMS AND PARALLEL FATE OF HERALDRY AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.—AUGMENTATIONS ILLUSTRATED FROM SEVERAL EVENTS.—DATES OF BUILDINGS DETERMINED BY HERALDRY.—ARCHITECTURAL CHARGES, ESPECIALLY THE CHEVRON.—HERALDIC DECORATIONS OF BUILDINGS.—COMMUNITY OF FEELING BETWEEN HERALDRY AND CHRISTIAN ART: THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN BOTH.

To the Crusaders Christian Architecture owed the round churches, and Christian chivalry owed heraldic insignia:<sup>1</sup> and this last architecture also borrowed as a minor decoration.

The existence of some connection between Gothic architecture and heraldry is sufficiently obvious to the most superficial observer, from the fact that armorial bearings are among the frequent and characteristic decorations of the ecclesiastical and other buildings of the middle ages. But this fact cannot be without its causes, results, and inferences: and, in truth, architecture and heraldry are linked together by ties of greater importance than mere accidents of detail and decoration. For instance, heraldic records often throw light on architectural questions, where all other sources of information fail: and the

<sup>1</sup> "One ornament, which by degrees formed a very considerable feature among those of the pointed style, was derived clearly and notoriously from the Crusades alone; namely, armorial bearings. When these insignia, invented in the holy wars, and placed on the shields and helmets of the leaders, in order that they might be recognized by their followers in life and in death, had been rendered illustrious by the feats and heroism of their wearers, and

had become proofs of an honourable pedigree in their descendants, their successors, no longer satisfied with hanging them in reality or in effigy in their halls and habitations, displayed them round their tombs and funeral chapels: and the temple of the God of peace became studded with the monuments, not only of the private feuds of the Clergy, but of the public warfare of the laity."—Hope.



ecclesiologist amply repays the debt thus contracted, when his researches bring to light armorial combinations of authority sufficient to settle a pedigree, and even to influence the descent of a title or of an estate.

And this, perhaps, is all the connection that the *practical* man, as a matter-of-fact character delights to call himself, will desire to find; and all that most men who have studied either of them alone, will expect to find between two sciences, not at first sight mutually dependent on each other. But there is, to say the least, a remarkable parallelism in the histories of architecture and of heraldry. Armorial bearings were brought into Europe by the Crusaders. At that very time ecclesiastical architecture, in the hands of the freemasons, was emerging from the Norman, and acquiring the Gothic type; and this more fascinating style was brought to its highest perfection while our chivalrous connection with the Holy City still remained. Nor are the twin sciences less nearly associated in their decline, than in their birth and progress. It is true that neither heraldry nor architecture was wholly deserted by its spirit, with the last efforts of the Crusaders: but architecture soon commenced its downward course, and heraldry, when chivalry had lost its highest and most inspiring direction, became comparatively effete. With mock chivalry came the greatest gorgeousness of blazonry:—the Field of the cloth of gold. With the Tudor race, (under which chivalry, and of necessity heraldry with it, visibly declined,) came also the decline of architecture; marked not by defect, but, as in chivalry, by excess of gorgeousness, but without the spirit with which it was for a long while instinct. Since that time the fall of both has been consummated. What Gothic architecture was years ago who shall venture to express? and as for heraldry, it almost ceased to exist, except as a source of revenue. It is, to say the least, a curious application of the system of rewards, to exact a fine from a faithful servant and his descendants, because of the value of his services; and this the State has done in taxing the outward insignia of hard-earned glory, the memorials of honourable service. The blood that flowed at Cressy, at Agincourt, or at Waterloo, might surely purchase a right to transmit the coat there assigned untaxed to countless generations: and the good Lord James of Douglas



earned dearly enough for himself and his posterity the crowned heart which graces the Douglas shield. Where heraldic devices are merely taken, or "*found*" by a seal engraver, or purchased at the herald's office, let them be taxed doubly and trebly if necessary: but surely there might be an exception in favour of those whose hatchment (whose *atchievement*, as the word is originally and most significantly written) represents ancestral dignity, or who trace their paternal coat to a grant for services, or whose arms have ever received an honourable augmentation.

Hitherto I have only stated the general synchronism of heraldry and architecture in their rise, growth, decline, I may almost add disgrace. But there was a more especial parallelism in their mediæval course, a resemblance in their forms and spirit, as well as in their fortunes. The shield takes the form of the arch most in use at the same period. With the Early English lancet, and the Decorated equilateral arch, we have the shield also acutely pointed. In the fifteenth century the arch and the shield become obtuse, with great loss of beauty to each: and in the sixteenth century we have the flat four-centred arch, and the shield,<sup>1</sup> requiring sundry quirks, and other appendages to give them form and character. In still later times we have all forms that an unbridled fancy can suggest, for shields and arches alike.

In both cases, the deterioration lay deeper than any external forms. The language of heraldry was rapidly losing its flexibility and purity, and was becoming vulgar and common-place. Armorial bearings were pictorial rather than symbolic; the painted history of the barbarous Mexicans, rather than the sacred and mystic hieroglyphic of sacerdotal Egypt. The augmentations which commemorate two actions, in some respects similar, but with an interval of three hundred years between them, will illustrate my meaning. In 1329 died Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, leaving unfulfilled a vow to go in person to the Holy Land. On his death-bed he entreated James of Douglas to carry his heart thither, a mission which his trusty friend and companion in arms died in attempting: but the

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps it would be still more true and still more indicative of the fall of heraldry, to say that the *shield* was disused and the *coat* substituted.



Douglas still bears, in addition to the paternal coat, *a man's heart proper, royally crowned or*. How simple is this device!

In 1650, (that is more than three centuries after,) James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, was barbarously murdered by the traitors of Scotland, and his head fixed on a pike at the Tolbooth. It was removed by a retainer of the Marquis named Graeme; a service to the dead thus commemorated in the crest of his descendants, "*Two arms erect, issuing from clouds, in the act of removing from a spike a human skull: above the skull a Marquis's coronet, all between two laurel branches proper with the motto—'Sepulto viresco.'*" The description of this crest is as long as the history of the deed which it commemorates, and one cannot look at the cumbrous medley of head, coronet, arms, spikes, clouds, scrolls, and mottoes, without feeling that the herald's art had fallen far beneath the worthy deed which it had to celebrate.

The language thus deteriorated soon utterly perished, and when architects did not, (but ought to have done) write on their buildings or on parts of them, "This is a church, this is the chancel, this is the tower;" heralds actually *did* confess that they had lost all power of expression in the language of heraldry, by writing under their pictures what they intended them to represent. On our later augmentations we have the names of places under certain green mounds, with castles upon them, and the like devices, which mean *anything the letters please*, because they mean *nothing without* the letters: and thus heraldry, which is a glorious hieroglyphic, a symbolical language, more universal than any tongue, Latin not excepted, is made to accept the help of a modern language most limited and most unideal.

There is a very curious seal ring figured in the fourth volume of the "Archæologia," which so fully illustrates the theory and use of augmentations, that I am tempted to describe it at length. The device is a knight armed cap-a-pie, his shield blazoned *or*, a fess checky *argent* and *azure*, (the arms of Stuart,)<sup>1</sup> striking with a ragged staff at a lion, which has attacked him, and broken his sword which lies in two pieces at his feet. From the upper

<sup>1</sup> The fess checky is a canting ordinary in this case, referring to the Steward's accounts.



part of the seal an arm is issuing, vested in a maunch, charged with three fleurs-de-lys, and holding a shield with the same arms before given, but with the augmentation of a lion rampant gules debruised by a bend ragule or, an escutcheon of pretence argent. The whole is surrounded by a double tressure, flori counter-flori.

The knight here represented is probably Alexander Stuart, to whom the augmentation was assigned by Charles VI. of France, for service done by Andrew Stewart, his father, to the said Charles, and to the King of Scots; and also to John the French King, grandfather to Charles. It is wholly unknown what the services were which are thus requited, but the seal, as a work of art, tells its own history in its own way; the shield tells the same history in the language of heraldry. The combat of the knight has been with danger to his life, and the loss of his sword, but he seizes a ragged staff, and therewith *debruises* the lion, and receives from the French King, signified by the three fleurs-de-lys on the maunch, his own shield augmented by a lion debruised by a bend ragule, or a ragged staff, in bend. The only question is, whether the combat with the lion is real or allegorical. It would seem a more worthy exploit to conquer some hostile knight, than to kill a lion as thus represented; and this may have been the service performed, the vanquished knight bearing a lion rampant. But if this were the case, the seal would contain a mixture of allegory and direct representation hardly admissible. The Stuart is a man, and so should the other be, if he were really a human opponent, bearing like the Stuart his arms on his shield. Again, if the lion represented any person or people, it would itself have been charged with some device. The lion therefore seems to be as real and literal as the knight and the combat; and the augmentation records the slaughter of a lion by Sir Andrew Stuart, after a sharp conflict, in which he had lost his sword.

Now what I would chiefly remark here is this,—that if this were a modern augmentation, the allegory, which is not out of place on the seal, would in all probability have been the coat of arms awarded as an augmentation, while some vapid inscription by way of motto laboured to bring together history, allegory, and heraldry. As it is, the augmentation speaks purely in the



language of heraldry, while the seal speaks in the supplemental and partly explanatory language of picture history.

The modern use of explanatory inscriptions by way of mottoes is the more observable in itself, and the more derogatory to heraldry, because armorial devices, in their very theory, exclude speech and writing, for which they are in some sort a substitute. The heraldic insignia of the knight of old were the best designations of his person and property. Covered with mail, at a distance far beyond that at which his features could be recognised, (even if his visor were raised,) perhaps, too, approaching persons who have never seen him, the WARREN was known by his shield (*checky or and azure*), the FITZWILLIAM by his embroidered surcoat (*lozengè argent and gules*), or LUPUS, *Earl of Chester*, by his canting device, *a wolf's head erased argent, in a field azure*,—and so well did the device answer its purpose, that it was known all over Christendom, and recognised by the very page, whose master could neither write his own name, nor read another man's. Property was marked in the same way. Instead of putting his name and titles on a nice square panel over a doorway, the founder of a church or castle inserted his arms; and these testified to all generations that a Beauchamp or a Vere had there first spread his banner, or there first offered of his substance to the ALMIGHTY. These, in the great scarcity of records, are invaluable to the ecclesiologist or mediæval historian, and the deductions from them are full of interest.

The *exact date* of a building is also indicated sometimes by a change in the device of the founder, or by the association of other arms with his paternal coat. Thus Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, assumed in 1373, and retained until about 1399, the arms of the King of the Romans; and his shield thus ensigned, appears on the upper part of the tower of Tickhill, in Yorkshire, infallibly deciding that the belfry was added to the tower, which is Early English, between those dates. The cinquefoil of the *Astleys* occurs in Crick Church, together with the *fess and cross crosslets* of the *Beauchamps*.<sup>1</sup> Here is a double

<sup>1</sup> In this case the impaling is very curiously managed. A lion supports a shield with the Astley coat, another

lion supports a shield with the Beauchamp coat, and the tails of the lions are intertwined.



help in assigning the date, for the Beauchamp coat was at one time *gules, crusilly or*, instead of *gules, a fess between six cross crosslets or*, so that the church must have been erected while the arms of Beauchamp were emblazoned in the latter way; but we get still nearer to the date of this church, on a comparison of the pedigrees of the two families which supply the date of their connexion by marriage.

In the case of Crick Church, the arms of Astley occur several times on the exterior, as well as in the case just mentioned, in the interior; but the Beauchamp coat does not appear at all on the exterior, and only once in the interior, where it is associated with that of Astley. Hence we may infer that the chancel of Crick was nearly finished before Astley had a right to the impalement of Beauchamp; for, otherwise, so honourable an heraldic ensign would certainly not have been omitted during the progress of the work. On the other hand, at Astley, in Warwickshire, a church afterwards built by the same Sir Thomas de Astley, who finished Crick Church about the time of his marriage, the arms of Astley and Beauchamp occur alternately throughout the whole of the original fabric, as we should naturally expect; thus indicating not only that the two churches were built by the same person, but also that the one was just finished, and the other just begun at the time of his marriage.

As this instance affords a valuable *praxis* in the connection of heraldry with architecture, we will sum up the purely heraldic inferences which we have drawn:—

- I. The chancel of Crick was erected during the time that the Beauchamps bore a *fess between six crosslets*, and not while they bore *crusilly*.
- II. It was erected by an Astley: and
- III. By an Astley who married a Beauchamp: but
- IV. It was not finished till just after their marriage. Whereas on the other hand,
- V. Astley church, in Warwickshire, was also erected by an Astley who married a Beauchamp, and who was entitled, during the whole of the course of its erection, to associate the Beauchamp coat with his own.

And all these deductions are fully borne out by documen-



tary evidence, and by the architectural character of the two churches.

In like manner the impaling of a family coat with the arms of a corporation sole,<sup>1</sup> as for instance, those of Chichele with the See of Canterbury, at Higham-Ferrers, affords an exact indication of dates, where they are not otherwise determined.

But I must leave this branch of the subject, not for want of material, for every district in the kingdom would furnish abundant examples, but merely for shortness' sake, I will now proceed to mention some heraldic charges, which seem to be directly borrowed from architecture.

Besides certain architectural objects, such as castles, towers, arches, pillars, canopies, and churches, architecture has given several forms and bearings to heraldry. THE PILE driven into the marshy soil to receive the arches of a bridge occurs with the same name in blazonry, and probably records the erection of some work in which this contrivance was needed. But one of the heraldic ordinaries is more especially connected with architecture in the symbolic language of ancient heralds. THE CHEVRON, composed, as it were, of two rafters leaning against each other, represents the tectum, the roof of a house, and it is, "as the learned Nicholas Upton has it, one of those bearings which *per carpentarios et domorum factores olim portabantur*:"<sup>2</sup> but it has also a more honourable signification, and adumbrates

<sup>1</sup> While on this subject, I may note another method of appropriating the arms of a corporation to an individual:—the figure of the person himself, or his coat or rebus, being presented in the same seal or coat with the corporation device. Archdeacon de Bokyngham's seal of office was "the Virgin and Child, with the ecclesiastic beneath in the attitude of worship." Here the Virgin and Child is the device of the office, the ecclesiastic is De Bokyngham himself, who thus appropriates the seal to his own person; just as a present archdeacon would appropriate it, impaling his coat with it.

Again, in the seal of the chantry in Wimbourne Minster founded by Thos.

de Brembre, the arms of Brembre (*Argent two [three?] Annulets and a canton azure*) is placed under the figure, where the kneeling ecclesiastic is found in the before cited instance, (*Archæological Journal*, XII. 360,) and the seal of Bishop Grandisson, and that also of his college, has the Bishop's arms, (*Paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules three eaglets or*) in the same relative position.

<sup>2</sup> Such professional arms are not uncommon, and would soon grow from the assumption of an individual to the honourable bearings of a family. In the churchyard at Harleston, in Northamptonshire, (a place of quarries and masons,) we find an instance. The



under the form of a roof, by a figure common to most languages, as well as to that of heraldry, the house in the second intention of the word, the family and lineage. Let us take the arms of Danby as an instance, viz., *Argent, three chevronelles in base interlaced sable, on a chief of the second three mullets of the first*: a coat which is expressly said to record the erection of three great houses in one province by the founder of this family.<sup>1</sup>

In return heraldry has given some forms and many decorations to architecture. Spandrils and panels are, of course, adapted to the shields they bear; and the shields themselves sometimes form brackets, corbels, and label terminations: and the very word *label* expresses much the same form in heraldry and in architecture; the dripstone over a *square* window, (which alone is properly called a label,) being almost identical in

tombstones of the Lumleys are headed with the coat *on a chevron between three castles a pair of compasses extended*. This is purely an architectural device. Bishop Skirlaw, whose coat is found on so many ecclesiastical buildings, bore *six osier wands intertwined in the form of a cross*, in allusion as has been supposed to the trade of a basket maker, which his father is said to have exercised: but I should rather suspect that in this case the supposed trade is inferred from the arms, rather than the arms adopted from the trade. They would look another way blazoned as they might be, *three pallets, and three barrulets intertwined*.

<sup>1</sup> "The three chevronels brased, shows that the ANCESTOURS OF THYS COTE hath buildeth three great houses in one province, as we are told by the author of the first book of heraldry that was ever printed in the English tongue." Gerard Legh, in his "Accedence of Armory," printed 1562, p. 180, quoted from the *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

In the Glossary of Heraldry two

varieties of a peculiar way of bearing the chevron, are given, which very exactly represent a groined or arched roof beneath the wooden roof, and both belong to names bearing reference to architectural construction. *Argent a chevron inarched sable*, for *Holbearne* (quasi *Hall-beam*), and *purpure a chevron inarched argent*, for *Arch-ever*. William of Wykeham bore *argent two chevronelles sable, between three roses gules, barbed and sided proper*. "He probably assumed the chevronelles," says the Glossary, "in allusion to his employment as an architect." Had not the *two chevronelles* some allusion to his *two* foundations at Winchester and at Oxford? Or did he bear the same coat before they were contemplated? It may be added that Archbishop Chichele, who succeeded Wykeham, as the freemasons have it, as their grand master in England, and who certainly displayed a kindred taste and skill in architecture, also bore a chevron in his coat, which was *argent a chevron between three cinquefoils gules*.



form with the label in blazonry, used as the first mark of cadency.

To recount the places on which arms are found in Gothic architecture would be endless: on exteriors, on towers and gateways, and porches innumerable; in interiors, on the floor, and on the roof; on capitals of pillars, and on spandrils of arches; on the font and on the tomb, in short every where: but the most remarkable application of heraldry I know, is on the Easter sepulchre at Patrington, in Yorkshire, where the Roman soldiers who guard the sepulchre are represented with shields, charged with armorial bearings: certain Christian benefactors to the church thus identifying themselves, (but certainly not designedly,) with these enemies of our Divine REDEEMER.

In one instance, (I know of one only,) a particular bearing has given a form to an essential part of a structure. The windows of the south aisle of Crick church, to which I have already alluded at some length, have in their head a cinquefoil,—not an architectural but an heraldic cinquefoil, formed by the intersections of the tracery. Now the cinquefoil is the coat of the Astleys, one of which family erected, or at least greatly altered, that part of the church, which thus takes its character from his shield.

I shall not enter on the use of armorial bearings in windows of painted glass, and on encaustic tiles.

I have still to observe on a certain community of feeling between heraldry and Gothic architecture. They are both full of symbolical meaning,<sup>1</sup> and the symbols are in both cases purely symbols, not pictures or resemblances. In many cases they are the same in both. The cross, the symbol of our Redemption, which appears in so many forms in architecture, appears in still more in heraldry. Where the symbols are not identical, they often represent the same thing. The cross of S. George, as we

<sup>1</sup> "Heraldry is, in fact, the last remnant of the ancient symbolism, and a legitimate branch of Christian art; the griffins and unicorns, fesses and chevrons, the very tinctures or colours, are all symbolical,—each has its mystic meaning, singly and in combi-

nation, and thus every genuine old coat of arms preaches a lesson of chivalric honour and Christian principle to those that inherit it,—truths little suspected now-a-days in our herald's offices."—Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, ii. 49.



now call it, is the cross of the crusaders, *Argent, a cross gules*. The Maltese cross, the escallop, the palmer's staff, the Saracen's head, and other heraldic bearings, answer to the round churches of the ecclesiologist. Both heraldry and Gothic architecture delight in grotesques, in imaginary figures: wyverns, and griffins, and heraldic tigers, and antelopes<sup>1</sup> in the one case; and in the other masks of strange and monstrous shapes, dragons and salamanders.

But the great bond of union between heraldry and architecture was the religious element in each. *In theory* every knight was a faithful and devoted Christian: *in theory* every architect was a servant of the living God. The knight received his arms and his banner at the hands of the Church, after prayer and vigil: and the rules of his order, and his vow of chivalry, were full of religious requirements and promises. And the arms which he received from the Church, he desired at his last day to suspend over his monument, in pious acknowledgment that he had received them from God, that he had kept them unsullied by God's grace, and that he was permitted to offer them again to God, in thankfulness and honour. And so with the architect and his work. The church was an offering, *in* the heart and *from* the heart of all concerned, the founder, the architect, the artisans. I fear it is too much to hope that *heraldry* shall again be accounted a religious science, or its application so much as capable of receiving a soul of devotion: but I do hope that a day may come again, when it shall not only be acknowledged that *a church* is a *holy place*, but that *the work of the ecclesiastical architect* is a *holy work*.

<sup>1</sup> These are all of them entirely arbitrary in their forms; and the tiger and antelope would puzzle a comparative

anatomist as much as the griffin or wyvern.



## CHAPTER XII.

## THE EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD.

## GREAT EXERTIONS OF CHURCH BUILDERS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

—THE TEMPLE.—FOUNTAINS, KIRKSTALL, BUILDWAS, WINCHESTER, S. ALBAN'S, GLASGOW, BEAULIEU, YORK, SKELTON, ELY, DURHAM, ROCHESTER, BEVERLEY, RIPON, SOUTHWELL.—ELY: BISHOP RIDAL, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN TRANSEPTS;—EUSTACHIUS AND THE GALILEE;—BISHOP NORWOLD AND THE PRESBYTERY.—WELLS: BISHOP JOCELIN.—SALISBURY: BISHOP POORE.—OLD AND NEW SARUM COMPARED.—NINE ALTARS OF DURHAM.—EXTREME EAST TRANSEPTS.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY ENGLISH.—DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES BY VIOLENCE: ROCHESTER, NORWICH.

IMPELLED as it were by the sense of a new faculty, (for to this the use of the pointed arch almost amounted,) the Churchmen of the close of the twelfth, and of the whole course of the thirteenth century, put forth extraordinary energies in the erection of religious edifices, or in the enlarging and beautifying those which already existed. In some districts there is scarcely a parish-church which does not owe its earliest existing portion to this era,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps there is hardly a cathedral or a conventual church of the higher order in existence, which did not receive some great addition during the reign of the Early English style.

Examples then crowd upon us, but we shall mention only some of the more remarkable.

In the octagon of the Temple Church, London, dedicated, as we have already recorded, in 1185, we have the pointed arch, with many accessions of the Norman style; and in the Abbeys of Fountains, Kirkstall,<sup>2</sup> and Buildwas, the same juxtaposition

<sup>1</sup> Of course the *foundation* of such churches, in the ecclesiastical sense, is often much more ancient than any part of the existing fabric.

<sup>2</sup> At Kirkstall this is very remarkable. The pillars in the nave are Norman in all their characters. These

support pointed arches, and again over these is the clerestory of purely Norman character. For beautiful views of Fountains and Kirkstall, see "The Monastic Remains of Yorkshire," and Sharpe's Architectural Parallels.



of contending forms appears. At Winchester we have the Lady chapel built by De Lucy;<sup>1</sup> at the very beginning of the thirteenth century; and in S. Alban's Abbey the four western bays of the nave, and the west porch by Abbot John de Cella, between 1195 and 1214.<sup>2</sup> Of about the same date is the Cathedral of Glasgow, which I mention (notwithstanding a general determination not to travel out of England for instances,) for its singular excellence; even Salisbury itself being scarcely a more valuable example of pure Early English. It was commenced by Bishop Jocelin, who was consecrated in 1175, and his tomb in the crypt is evidence of its having been completed by him.<sup>3</sup> This part of Glasgow yields in interest only to the crypt at Canterbury. It is thus described by Rickman:—"The crypt under the choir and chapter-house is not equalled by any in the kingdom; it is from the fall of the ground well lighted, and is an uncommonly rich specimen of Early English; the piers and groining are of the most intricate character, the most beautiful design and excellent execution. The groins have rich bosses; and the doors are much enriched with foliage and other ornaments; the piers have fine flowered capitals, much like some at York."<sup>4</sup>

In 1204, King John founded and richly endowed the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, a foundation which is chiefly memorable in history for the privilege of sanctuary attached to it having been claimed by two remarkable persons; the one illustrious in her misfortunes, the other notorious for the greatness of his impudence. Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI.,

<sup>1</sup> "In 1202, according to the annals, Bishop Godfrey de Lucy instituted a fraternity for the reparation of the church of Winton, to last five whole years. And in the obituary of John of Exeter, we are told that Godfrey Lucy made the vault with the aisles from the altar of the Blessed Mary to the end of the church, where he was buried outside the chapel of the Blessed Virgin."—See Professor Willis's *Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral*.

<sup>2</sup> In the triforium of this portion of

S. Alban's, the spandrils formed by the two open lancets under one outer arch, are pierced with a quatrefoil;—thus indicating a tendency towards tracery; and in the porch is a trefoil arcade.

<sup>3</sup> Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Glasgow Cathedral has been more perfectly illustrated than most churches of equal pretensions, by Collie in his "*Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details, and Views of the Cathedral of Glasgow*."



took refuge there when, on returning from the Continent, she found her husband a prisoner, and the usurper Edward on the throne; and thence Perkin Warbeck was drawn by the false promises of Henry VII., to suffer imprisonment in the Tower, and a traitor's death at Tyburn.<sup>1</sup>

In 1227, the southern transept of York Minster, the oldest part of that magnificent church,<sup>2</sup> was commenced by Archbishop Walter Grey, to whom, with much probability, is referred the neighbouring little church of Skelton,<sup>3</sup> equal in its kind to the greater work of the munificent primate.

We shall have occasion, by-and-bye, to mention the presbytery of Ely Cathedral erected by Bishop Norwold, (1236—1253,) and also the Chapel of the Nine Altars, commonly ascribed to Bishop Poore, translated from Salisbury to Durham in 1228. About 1240, William de Hoo, Prior of Rochester, built the crypt and the choir of that church, out of the proceeds of offerings at the shrine of S. William.<sup>4</sup> With many additions in subsequent styles, Beverley Minster is still on the whole an Early English church. The nave, including the very fine west front of Ripon, is in the same style, but there are no means of authenticating its date: it is probably within the first twenty years of the thirteenth century. The choir and aisles, with the eastern transept of Southwell Minster, are Early English additions to a Norman nave and transepts.

But it is time to leave such desultory notices of churches for a more particular history and description of some remarkable examples.

Ely Cathedral contains specimens of the highest perfection of the several modifications of the pointed style, from its first in-

<sup>1</sup> By ecclesiologists the remains of the Abbey are perhaps chiefly remembered for a beautiful stone pulpit. This pulpit is approached by steps in the wall of the refectory, which still remains and is used as a parish church. See plans and sections accompanying "Some Account of Beaulieu Abbey, in the county of Hants, by Owen B. Carter, architect;" published in Weale's Quarterly Papers.

<sup>2</sup> That is, of those parts which form any portion of the general composition, for the crypt is partly Saxon, and partly the work of Archbishop Thomas, at the close of the twelfth century.

<sup>3</sup> See Churches of Yorkshire, No. III.

<sup>4</sup> See Winkles' Cathedrals.



trodition, and before it had cast off the more ancient Norman accessories, to the introduction of tracery, whence the reign of the Geometric or Early Decorated is calculated. The great west front consisting of a lofty tower with two wings, or transepts, flanked by four turrets,<sup>1</sup> is among the earliest instances of the pointed or transition Norman: indeed, the round arch occurs in the lower parts of the whole design, while the arch is pointed but still enriched with the zigzag or chevron moulding, in the upper portions. The whole of this was the work of Bishop Ridal, between the years 1174 and 1189; nearly, that is, during the very same space which was occupied by William of Sens, and William the Englishman, in the restoration of Canterbury Cathedral, the history of which we have already related in treating of the introduction of the pointed arch.

Like all rich examples of the same date, which retain a general Norman character, this work of Bishop Ridal exemplifies the very splendid effect of arcades as decorations of large surfaces; and in the lantern, which had been from time immemorial underdrawn, having lately been opened internally, we have another proof of the correctness and grandeur of conception in our ancestors, and of their mastery in composition over the greatest masses, as well as over the most minute details.

Bishop Ridal was, so far as I know, the first to design and execute a great western façade, separate, in some sense, from the original front of a cathedral, and wholly an addition to the nave and aisles. The grandeur of a Norman west front did not extend beyond a high nave gable, flanked by low massive towers, which terminated the aisles. The great front of Ely substituted a lofty tower for the central gable, and two great wings, each with its two turrets for the ordinary towers. As it appears at present, with the addition of an octagon to the central tower, this, when seen from the west, which ought of course to be the most favourable view of a west façade, is somewhat deficient in harmony; but from the site of the ancient infirmary, a little to the south-east of the south transept, where the intervention of

<sup>1</sup> The north wing with its turrets fell, not long before the Reformation, owing probably to the erection of an octagon upon the tower, more than a century after the tower had been finished.



the nave-roof diminishes the relative height of the central tower, nothing can well surpass the happy combination of grandeur and picturesqueness of this arrangement. The west façade of Peterborough,<sup>1</sup> in principle resembling that at Ely, though greatly differing from it in composition, and which is generally considered the finest west front in the kingdom, has nothing to equal that at Ely, seen from the spot just mentioned.

And let us, before we dismiss the western transeptal façade, observe the place which it may probably have had in the symbolism of church architecture. That the central cross represented the Cross of CHRIST is beyond dispute; and if it is not so certain, it is at least probable, that the eastern cross, or that yet above the great transept, or as it were over the head of the cross, as at Wells and York, and in a different form at Durham and Fountains, represented the inscription over our Blessed SAVIOUR'S head, in which, all unconsciously, yet by a Divine impulse, He was proclaimed a King; or perhaps even the crown itself of His mediatorial kingdom. And it remains that the western cross, or that before the nave, and through which admission to the body of the church is gained, represented the steps on which the cross of Calvary stands, and by which it must be approached, mystically by us, as it was actually by our Divine REDEEMER, if like Him we would through the cross ascend to a crown.

Though Ely had now perhaps the finest approach in the kingdom, it did not satisfy Eustachius, who succeeded to the Episcopate in 1197, and filled the throne till 1214. This prelate

<sup>1</sup> The west front of Peterborough is usually attributed to Robert de Lindsay, abbot from 1210 to 1222. While sacrist he had bestowed much care on the fabric, among other things making thirty glass windows, which before were stuffed with straw; and many of the dependencies of the Abbey he enriched in one way or other. There is however no mention of his works in the abbey-church after his elevation, and indeed it is one of the numerous and provoking inconsistencies of the monastic history, that slight things are

so often mentioned, and very great works left unnoticed. However the style very well agrees with the time of Lindsay, and may be taken as a strong confirmation of the tradition which gives the work to an abbot whose character also justifies the choice. It may also be accounted a confirmation, that in 1237, (and the work though begun and carried on by Lindsay might well be so long in completion,) the church was solemnly rededicated.—Gunton's Peterborough, pp. 294—303.



erected the Galilee, a western porch of great size, and of splendid design and execution, before the central door of Bishop Ridal's work. In this porch the Early English appears already fully developed. The triplet of lancets over the west door is the most characteristic feature, but throughout the details and decorations are very perfect and very distinctive of the style; and especially the full power of cusping as a decoration is here developed, and the use of foliage and the dog-tooth in the deep hollows of mouldings is very effective; a style of ornament in which there is as great a change from the Norman in the principles of decoration, as there is in constructive principles in the pointed arch.

In 1229, Hugh Norwold<sup>1</sup> was consecrated Bishop of Ely. To this munificent prelate the cathedral owed the last addition which we shall mention in the present chapter. The choir as well as the nave and transepts, was, at the beginning of his Episcopate, of the original Norman, much shorter than the nave, as was universally the case with the earlier Norman conventual churches, and probably with a semicircular east end, as still in the neighbouring cathedrals of Peterborough and Norwich. But the veneration in which S. Etheldreda the patron saint was held, and the consequent devotions of the people, called for a more splendid shrine for her relics, and Bishop Norwold destroyed the Norman apse, and extended the church eastward by six more arches. Nothing can exceed the beauty of this oblation on the altar of S. Etheldreda. The carving is of the most delicate kind, and the clusters of foliage in the several corbels, both in the exterior of the east end, and in the whole of the interior are exceedingly rich. The value of Purbeck marble also in the slender shafts by which the greater pillars are relieved, as well as in the vaulting and jamb-shafts, with all their enrichments, as contrasted with the stone-work (equally elaborate), of which the constructive portions are formed, is here admirably displayed. Bishop Norwold died in 1254, and was buried in the noble work which he lived to dedicate, in the presence of the King (Henry III.) and Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I.,

<sup>1</sup> Jocelin of Bath and Wells was one of the Bishops who assisted at the consecration of Norwold.



together with the Bishops of Norwich and Llandaff, and a great concourse of nobles.

Bishop Jocelin of Wells, and Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, founded jointly the Hospital of S. John at Wells. Jocelin also founded several prebends in the church of Wells, and endowed all the dignities, persons, and offices attached to the church. But these works, great as they were, are not those for which he is here mentioned. *He took down the church of Wells, which was in a most ruinous state, and rebuilt it from the ground, and dedicated it.* He also built with great skill *the chapels and lodges* of Wells and of Woky. . . . . The see of Wells had no such Bishop before him, nor as yet, says the historian, has he been followed by his like. At his death he was honourably buried in the middle of the choir of Wells.<sup>1</sup>

Scanty as it is, this is all the notice that I find of the erection of one of the greatest glories of the thirteenth century; and to this day, one of the greatest ornaments of the kingdom. Indeed the Cathedral of Wells, with its several parts and precincts, is perhaps more perfect than any other in existence; and its plan still comprises all the features of a vast cathedral and conventual church. Not that all these are of the same date, or of the work of Jocelin: but the most striking feature of the whole is certainly to be referred to him, as well as, in all probability, the chapel in the palace, which is in its kind as perfect as the Cathedral itself. THE WEST FRONT of the Cathedral is not like those of Ely and Peterborough before mentioned, a separate portion of the cathedral, but it combines a unity of purpose which is wanting in those, with all their grandeur and importance: a result obtained by extending the towers as transepts beyond the north and south walls of the church instead of erecting them

<sup>1</sup> "Isti duo Episcopi Jocelinus et Hugo Lincolniensis fundarunt Hospitale S. Johannis Wellensis. Jocelinus fundavit multas Præbendas in Ecclesia Wellensi de novo, dotavit etiam omnes dignitates, personatus et officia dictæ Ecclesiæ in forma adhuc durante: ipsamque Wellensem Ecclesiam vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam prostravit, et a pavimentis erexit dedi-

cavitque. . . . . Hic sibi similem anteriorem non habuit, nec huc usque visus est habere sequentem. Tandem defunctus, in medio Chori Welliæ honorifice sepelitur. . . . . Capellas etiam cum cameris de Welles et Woky notabiliter construxit."—Can. Wellen. de Ep. Bath. et Wellen. in Anglia Sacra, I. 564.



over the last bay of the aisles. The noble central space thus gained, together with the towers by which it is flanked, covered as they are with exquisite sculptures, present as happy a combination of grandeur and beauty, as was ever realized by mortal hand.

Common consent has given to Salisbury which was being erected by Richard Poore and his successors during nearly the same time that Jocelin was engaged on Wells, the first place as a study of pure Early English Architecture. At the time of the translation of Poore from Chichester, the Episcopal throne of his new diocese was erected in what is now called Old Sarum, a barren place, and within the influence of rude soldiery where the church seemed still a captive, or at best in the wilderness, so that a poet describes it in these sorry terms,

“Est ubi defectus lymphæ, sed copia cretæ,  
Sævit ibi ventus, sed Philomela silet.”

Far different was the valley beneath this inhospitable site; there the fields were yellow with an early harvest, and two dancing rivulets flowed together through verdant meads. The people called it MERRYFIELD; and joyfully did the monks of Old Sarum seek so fair a spot for a new habitation. Thither Richard Poore brought together the most celebrated and the most skilful workmen that could be found, and there by the hands of Pandulf the Pope's Legate, were five stones laid; the first for the pope, the second for the king, the third for the earl, the fourth for the countess, and the fifth for the Bishop of Salisbury. Nor did the king and his nobles leave the great work without more substantial aid than an honorary token of their interest in its foundation,

“Rex largitur opes, fert præsul opem, lapicidæ  
Dant operam; tribus his, est opus, et stet opus.”

So writes an old poet, quoted by Godwin, who however adds

“Sed elegantius alius poeta itidem vetustus,  
‘Regis enim virtus templo spectabitur isto,  
Præsulis affectus, artificumque fides.’”

But with all submission, the last whether or no more elegant



than the first is not so much to the purpose. It would not be easy to express in fewer or better words than those first quoted, the part which a monarch's authority and resources, a Bishop's superintendence and skill, and the people's pains and labour should have, in the erection and support of the material fabric of the church, and under God, of the spiritual temple.

But we have yet another "*multo elegantius*," and though we again demur to the comparative estimate of the verses, we cannot refrain from giving in his own words the enumeration of some of the principal features of this church, by an ancient writer. Camden then, from whom Bishop Gibson quotes the preceding, adds,

"Sed multo elegantius clarissimus et eruditissimus Daniel Rogersius—

'Mira canam, Soles quot continet annus in una

Tam numerosa, ferunt, æde, fenestra micat.

Marmoreasque capit fusas tot ab arte columnas,

Comprensas horas quot vagus annus habet.

Totque patent portæ, quot mensibus annus abundat,

Res mira, at vera res celebrata fide.'

The accident of an unusually dry season enables us to state the dimensions of the Cathedral at Old Sarum. In the summer of 1834 the foundations of the original church, completed by Bishop Osmond became distinctly visible. A comparison of its dimensions with those of the present structure fairly represents the advance that had been made in the splendour of ecclesiastical buildings; and will also indicate certain changes in the relative dimensions of their several parts. The length of the nave was about one hundred and fifty feet, that of the choir sixty feet, and the total length two hundred and seventy feet. Of the present Cathedral the total length is four hundred and eighty-feet, of which the nave occupies about two hundred, the choir nearly as much, the remainder being taken up with the space under the central tower, and with the Lady Chapel at the east end. The breadth of the old nave and aisles was seventy-two feet, that of the present west face is one hundred and twelve feet. The ancient transept was one hundred and fifty feet by sixty, the present greater transept is two hundred and thirty-two feet by eighty-two: and there is an additional eastern transept, of one hundred and seventy-two feet by sixty-five; the smaller



of the two Early English transepts being larger than the great Norman cross. The most important differences here noted are the greater complexity of form in the addition of an entire transept, and the greater comparative length of the choir; the latter being a very constant feature in churches of Early English and subsequent dates, as compared with those of the twelfth and preceding centuries.

Richard Poore was translated to Durham in 1228, leaving the care of the works at Salisbury to Elias de Derham, who had from the first acted as architect; and the building was not finished till the Episcopate of Giles of Bridport, in whose time it was consecrated, thirty-five years after the laying of the first stones, September 30, 1258. The expenses incurred during its progress are stated in accounts delivered to King Henry III., at 40,000 marks or about £26,666 13s. 4d. of our money.<sup>1</sup> At Durham Bishop Poore was not idle, if as is supposed he built the *Nine Altars*,<sup>2</sup> a structure like the western front of Ely to be noted as originating a new feature in ecclesiastical edifices, this being the first transeptal addition recorded to the extreme *east* end of a church, extending the east front on both sides beyond the line of the chancel aisles. The same arrangement was followed at Fountains, and at one or two other churches in later times.

Bishop Poore died in 1237 at Farrant Crawford, in Dorsetshire, the place of his birth, in a monastery of his own foundation, and there his heart was buried, but his body was carried to Salisbury, and Leland gives this inscription from his tomb in the Lady Chapel:—

<sup>1</sup> Winkles' Cathedrals, I. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Although the erection of the nine altars is usually attributed to Bishop Poore, I find nothing in the continuation of Turgot in the *Anglia Sacra* touching the fabric, until the Episcopate of Nicholas de Farnham, who was elected in 1241, and under his life we are told that in the year 1242, Prior Thomas began the new portion of the church, about the feast of S. Michael, the Bishop assisting, and assigning the church of Bedlington for the purpose.

"Anno Domini MCCXLII, incoepit Thomas Prior novam fabricam Ecclesiæ circa Festum S. Michaelis, juvante Episcopo et Ecclesiam de Bedlington ad ejus fabricam conferente."—*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 737.

If this *nova fabrica* be the nine altars, which seems most probable, this positive testimony must outweigh the presumptive evidence from the character of Bishop Poore, as an architect, and the resemblance of the nine altars to his work at Salisbury.



“Orate pro anima Ric. Poure quondam Sarum Episcopi; qui Ecclesiam hanc inchoari fecit in quodam fundo, ubi nunc fundata est, ex antiquo nomine Miryfelde, in honore B. V. Mariæ 3 Kal. Maii in Festo S. Vitalis Martyris A.D. 1219, regnante tunc Rege Ricardo post Conq. primo. Fuitque Ecclesia hæc ædificando per spatium 40 annorum, et consummata est 8 Kal. Apr. A.D. 1260. Obiit 15 Apr. A.D. 1237 et 21 H. 3.”—Leland, Itinera, f. 62.

We must expend some pains on one other example of the Early English style before we pass to the transition between this style and the Decorated.

The history of WESTMINSTER ABBEY might be made almost a history of England, so intimately are its several parts, and the treasures of imagery which it contains, interwoven with the memorials of all our kings, of all our statesmen, of all our heroes, and of all our revolutions; nor would a full description of the church with all that is known of its history, with the records of the several charges of its erection, with all the circumstances under which the several works it contains were carried on, and with a fair estimate of their relative and actual merits, fall very far short of a *precis* of the history of mediæval architecture and of ecclesiastical art in general. But we propose to ourselves no such work. We have but to bring the history of the fabric by a rapid sketch to the conclusion of the Early English period, and though we may sometimes recur to the several parts of this great fabric and its varied contents, it will be but to exemplify some passing subject.

The most probable history of S. Peter's church, Westminster, refers its first foundation to King Sebert, about the year 616; and Sulcardus a monk of Westminster, about the close of the eleventh century, tells us the fabric newly erected was dedicated by S. Peter himself, who appeared miraculously for the purpose of anticipating Mellitus the bishop in that sacred service. When Mellitus was told of the visit of the saint, he hastened to the church and there found the chrism, the droppings of wax tapers and other signs of an actual consecration: a legend which we mention chiefly for the proof which it affords of the very early use of these portions of the ritual of consecration.



However, the story of the consecration by S. Peter himself was adopted by other writers, for Ailred tells us that S. Peter appeared to a monk named Wulsinus, and told him that there was a place in the west part of London which he had formerly consecrated to himself with his own hands, honoured with his presence, and rendered illustrious by miracles, [*quam quondam mihi propriis manibus consecravi, mea nobilitavi presentia, divinis insuper miraculis illustravi,*] which had become impoverished, and which the king (Edward the Confessor) was appointed to rebuild. “Non erit aliud,” said the Apostle, “nisi domus DEI et porta cœli,” a vaticination which the splendour of the fabric doubtless fully justified, so far as it could be interpreted into a prediction of its material beauty.

The king heard of the vision, and appropriated to its fulfilment a tenth part of his entire substance, in gold, silver, cattle, and all other possessions; and pulling down the old church, constructed a new one from the foundations. Sulcardus states that it was but a few years in building, as the king pressed on the work very earnestly. Compared with the former edifice it was a very magnificent fabric; and according to Matthew Paris, it afterwards became a pattern much followed in the erection of churches.

Sulcardus says, “the new church was supported by divers columns, from which sprang a multiplicity of arches;” and Sir Christopher Wren, from an ancient manuscript, “the sense of which,” he remarks, “I translate into language proper for builders, and as I can understand it,” describes it as follows: “The principal area or nave of the church being raised high, and vaulted with square and uniform ribs, is turned circular to the east; this on each side is strongly fortified with a double vaulting of the aisles in two stories, with their pillars and arches. The cross building contrived to contain the quire in the middle, and the better to support the lofty tower, rose with a plainer and lower vaulting; which tower then spreading with artificial winding stairs, was continued with plain walls to its timber roof, which was well covered with lead.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this and other portions of the history of Westminster Abbey, I am indebted to Neale’s “History and Antiquities of the Abbey church of S. Peter’s, Westminster.”



Edward lived to the completion of his church, but a mortal sickness prevented his being present at its consecration, and he was buried a few days after, (Jan. 5, 1066,) before the high altar. But his body did not rest here. Edward became, more from the tyranny of the Normans, who succeeded to the sovereignty of England, than from his own merits, a national favourite; and having been canonized by Alexander II., his body was translated to a precious shrine in the abbey, erected on purpose, at midnight, on the 3rd of the ides of October, 1163.

It was not to be supposed that Westminster, second to no foundation in its ecclesiastical position, and under the especial patronage of kings, should remain unaltered, when Canterbury had arisen more glorious from its ruins, and when many other churches had already assumed a fairer form, under the influence of the newly introduced style of architecture. In 1220, Henry III. laid the first stone of a chapel in honour of S. Mary the Virgin, where Henry VII.'s chapel now stands, and the erection of this, and the rest of the church was continued throughout Henry's reign. During the long period of twenty-four years the king had a counsellor and assistant in the work in Abbot Berkyng, who died in 1246, and was buried in the Lady Chapel so lately founded. The preceding year Henry had commanded that the church should be enlarged, and that the tower, with the eastern part should be taken down, and rebuilt more splendidly at his own charges.

For the better husbanding the resources devoted to this work by the king, a new office with two treasurers was established. The collection of revenues for such purposes is one of the most interesting subjects of our history, and in this case we have several indications of the sources from whence it was derived. In 1246, £2591 due to the king from the widow of a Jew named David, of Oxford, was assigned by him to the erection of the church. A gift of £2000 from the citizens of London, extorted with some difficulty, was applied to the same purpose. A fair of fifteen days was granted to the Abbot of Westminster, the profits of which were probably carried to the same account. In 1270 the sum of £3,754 paid by the Lady Alice Lacy, for eleven years' custody of her son's estate, was applied towards the



furtherance of the works of the Abbey church. At his death, Henry committed the charge of the unfinished church to his son, with a bequest of five hundred marks of silver for the completion of the Confessor's shrine. The donations of Cardinal Langham at different times amounted to £10,800; and many other gifts of individuals were received, among which vestments and church plate and jewels are continually recorded, and in some instances materials for the fabric. "On the 13th of October, 1269, the new church, of which the eastern part with the choir and transept appears to have been at that time completed, was first opened for divine service; and on the same day, the body of Edward the Confessor, 'that before laye in the syde of the quere, where the monkes nowe synge' was removed with solemnity, 'into ye chapell at the backe of the hygh aulter, and there layde in a ryche shryne,' which the king had caused to be made for its reception. The vast pomp that accompanied this ceremony may be appreciated from a passage in Thomas Wykes, who, speaking of Henry the Third, proceeds thus:—'This prince being grieved that the reliques of Saint Edward were poorly enshrined and not elevated, resolved that so great a luminary should not lie buried, but be placed high on a candlestick, to enlighten the church. He therefore, on the 3rd of the ides of October, the day of Edward's first translation, summoned the nobility, magistrates, and burgesses of the land, to Westminster, to attend so solemn an affair: at which time the chest being taken out of the old shrine, the king, and his brother the king of the Romans, carried it upon their shoulders in the view of the whole church, and his sons, Edward, (afterwards king,) and Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the Earl of Warren, and the Lord Philip Basset, with as many other nobles as could come near to touch it, supported it with their hands to the new shrine, which was of gold adorned with precious stones, and eminently placed in the church.'

"Henry the Third died on the 16th of November, 1272, and within four days afterwards, with as much solemnity as the time would admit, he 'was buryed vpon the south syde of Saint Edward in Westmynster.' The following verses are given by Fabian, as having been 'wryten in a table hangynge vpon ye tombe of the sayd Henry.'



“Tercius Henricus iacet hic, pietatis amicus :  
Ecclesiam strauit istam quam post renouauit.  
Reddat ei munus qui regnat trinus et vnus.”

The gifts which this sovereign made to S. Peter's Church, independently of the great sums he had caused to be expended in rebuilding it, were extremely munificent. They consisted, says the historian, of robes, jewels, and curious vessels, which were beheld with admiration and astonishment, and would have copiously enriched even a royal treasury. Among these valuables were the following, as particularized by Strype in his extracts from the Tower records.

“‘In the twenty-eighth year of his reign, he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a standard, or ensign, of red samit, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphires, or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in this church against the King's coming thither.’ Again, ‘In the thirtieth of his reign, he commanded the keeper of his exchequer to buy out of the monies there, as precious a mitre as could be found in the city of London, for the Abbot of Westminster's use; and also, one great crown of silver to set wax candles upon in the said church.’ And again, when the Queen set up ‘the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the feretry of S. Edward,’ ‘the King caused the aforesaid Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the Bishop of Chichester had left the King for a legacy.’

“Among the additional privileges with which this sovereign invested the Abbots, were those of holding a weekly market at Tuthill (called *Touthull* in the grant,) on Mondays, and an annual fair of three days' continuance; that is, on the eve, the day, and the morrow of the festival of S. Mary Magdalen: this grant was dated at Windsor, in his forty-first year. Henry, also, by different grants, gave eight bucks to the Abbot, with liberty to make a park in Windsor Forest, and a warren of ten acres and a half. Even in dying, the advance of this church was among the last subjects which occupied his thoughts; and by his will, he committed the completion of his plan to his eldest son (who had been named Edward from his favourite saint,) together with 500 marks of silver to finish the Confessor's shrine.”

At the time of Henry III.'s death, the Early English style was fast approximating to the earlier or Geometrical Decorated, and accordingly we have in the windows and in the triforium of the



choir and transepts which were his part of the fabric, foliated circles introduced in the heads of the lights, the first advance towards regular tracery. Edward in carrying on his father's design, seems to have had more regard than was common to the style of the part already concluded ; so that the whole minster, though in date its later portions fall in with the succeeding style, is in general character Early English.

What were the principal features of that style we now proceed to explain.

Among the characteristics of the church architecture of a period, the first place is due to those more important arrangements, which affect the ground-plan ; and though these may in a great measure be inferred from what has been already said, it will be better to state them more formally and connectedly.

First, then, and principally, in large conventual churches, the choir is now very greatly enlarged, being full twice the usual length of the Norman choir ; and thus room is gained for the choral services, without carrying the stalls into the nave. Besides this, there is often an additional eastern transept, either midway between the cross and the east end, as at Salisbury and Wells ; or at the extreme east, as at Durham and Fountains. There is also in several cases a more elaborate west front than the old Norman termination of the aisles by western towers and a centre gable afforded, as has been observed already in the cases of Ely, Peterborough, and Wells, and as appears also in Salisbury and Lincoln. Thus, without mentioning the addition of chapels and other appendages differing only in number, and not in any principle, from those which had already accumulated round every large church from the first, we have in general a greater complication of parts in this than in the preceding style.

On the other hand crypts are almost, and apses are quite discontinued ; but this from no repugnance to a polygonal figure, for chapter-houses of this period are usually polygonal, whereas they were previously quadrilateral. The form now adopted was retained in after periods. It was probably suggested by some arbitrary association of a number of persons forming the chapter with a number of sides to the building in which they met in synod.

Of exterior features buttresses assume a greater prominence,



and are often carried up in stages, and finished with a triangular pediment. Flying buttresses begin to produce as great effect on the outward aspect of the church, as on its constructive character; and pinnacles with all their luxuriant additions of crockets and finials, are corollaries of the buttress, as the buttress is of the pointed arch. Towers rise to a greater elevation over the roof, and are very generally finished with a spire, sometimes of great height. The most frequent Early English spire is that called the *broach*, where the spire does not rise from within parapets, but is carried up on four of its sides from the top of the square tower, the diagonal faces resting on squinches, or arches thrown across the corners within, and finished on the outside in a slope. But a great many of the Early English spires were wooden frames, covered with lead or shingles; and these in general, as well as in a few instances stone spires, were connected with the tower in a different way, the spire itself being at first only four-sided, and the angles being canted off a little above the base, to form the octagon.<sup>1</sup>

In the interior of large churches the triforium still retains its relative importance, being very remarkable both in size and decoration. The greatest change is in the roof. Before, only the aisles were vaulted, and the vaulting was very simple: now the large span of the nave, choir, and transepts does not deter the architect from throwing across it a pointed vault, springing from below the clerestory windows. The pointed arch, indeed, gives the most distinctive character to the whole, and makes everything lighter and loftier. Nor was any advance made in these respects even to the close of the Tudor period, the loftiest building being the Early English. The roof of Westminster Abbey is no less than one hundred feet from the ground; and the Early English spire of old S. Paul's was the highest in Europe.

In parish churches, the sacrarium is no longer added, as constructively distinct from the chancel; unless a central tower may seem to make that distinction, and this is by no means frequent, except in cross churches. On the other hand the nave is more

<sup>1</sup> As for instance at Denford. See the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, No. V.



universally furnished with aisles; and a steeple, often both tower and spire, is very frequently added at the west end; the spire as in larger churches being the broach, or the wooden spire already described.<sup>1</sup> The tower assumes an octagonal<sup>2</sup> form first during this period, but very infrequently: the only example that occurs to me is Stanwick in Northamptonshire.

Descending to less prominent parts of the building; the doors are almost all pointed,<sup>3</sup> and in large and fine specimens several jamb shafts each with its separate base and capital, carry as many suits of mouldings in the head of the door. Sometimes the doorways are divided by a shaft, or cluster of shafts in the centre, and each opening is richly foliated, the spandrels being either pierced with a trefoil, or quatrefoil, or filled with carving. The windows are always, at first, and very often to the close of the style, single uncusped lancets. Early in the style, however, two, three, five or seven, lancets are sometimes grouped together under one hood; or by the elevation of the central lancet, or by some arrangements of the rerevault, are rendered one in composition, especially in the interior: and the spaces between the heads are frequently pierced with foliated circles, or with trefoils or quatrefoils not enclosed in a circle; and often in the place of this piercing is a panel of like device, but not carried through the wall. These methods of relieving the heads of groups of lancets are very important, as indicating the approach of tracery, and of windows of many lights. But the finest and largest group of Early English lancets in the kingdom is without this or any other method of subordination: this is the five lancets, commonly called "the five sisters," in the north transept of

<sup>1</sup> It is almost needless to add that not many Early English wooden spires remain.

<sup>2</sup> At Osleworth, in Gloucestershire, is an hexagonal tower, the part next the nave being square, that next the chancel having the square edges canted off. This is Norman, the tower of Stanwick is at first hexagonal, but becomes octagonal above the roof of the nave.

<sup>3</sup> "There are small interior doors of this style with flat tops, and the sides

of the top supported by a quarter circle from each side."—Rickman. I should not however limit this form to interiors. It should be added too, that small doorways are sometimes trefoil-headed, as in the tower stairs of Burton Latimer. See Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton. See also a cinquefoil, and a square trefoil door, at Sutton and at Salisbury, figured in the Glossary.



York Minster. They are nearly fifty feet in height, and in the interior have a beauty which is altogether their own, and is not surpassed, if it is equalled by any Decorated or Perpendicular window in the kingdom.

The rose or wheel windows of this style also deserve especial mention. That in the south transept of York is of great size and beauty.

The use of foliations and cusplings, always most employed in the heads of windows, commences with this style. So far as it is purely accessory, it will be noticed in the next chapter: but there is a kind of foliating which is now found, which regulates the form of the window or other arch itself; and in describing which it is hardly correct to speak of a trefoiled, but rather of a trefoil-headed lancet or doorway: or of a trefoil panel or corbel. In such cases there is no outer pointed arch, but the head or panel or corbel itself is thrown into the form of a trefoil. This is the case, for instance, with the door at Burton Latimer referred to in a preceding note. It is the case with many windows, as at Stanton S. John, Oxfordshire, and the rear arch of a lancet in Hythe church, Kent,<sup>1</sup> and also at Shipton Olliffe, Gloucestershire. In the latter case the windows themselves are square-headed, a rare circumstance in the Early English, but not unique.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a window combined of the trefoil and the square head, the upper lobe of the trefoil being cut off horizontally. This is called the square-headed trefoil. It occurs to the west and south of the little chapel of S. Mary Magdalen, Ripon,<sup>3</sup> and indeed is not very unusual.

In all the cases of trefoiled openings, or panels of any number of foils, the point of each foil is very frequently enriched with a flower or patera.

The jamb shafts common in Norman windows, are discontinued in exteriors in Early English (except in towers, or where the windows are parts of arcades); but it is brought into the interior, and is much modified and enriched, the shafts

<sup>1</sup> See Brandon's Analysis, Sec. I. Early English, plate 20.

<sup>2</sup> A square-headed window very singularly treated, will be found in the

west end of Ringstead, figured in the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton.

<sup>3</sup> See Churches of Yorkshire.



generally standing free and being sometimes tripled. But the place that they hold in the composition of the fabric is of more importance than any of these details concerning Early English windows. So long as they are single or double lancets, they are subordinate to the composition, as in the Norman period; but when they are thrown into groups so as to adapt themselves to the form of the roof, and to rise high towards the point of the gable, and still more when they begin to receive tracery, they assume a very different degree of importance. Henceforward they are not only introduced as essential to the purposes for which the fabric is erected, and then decorated because every useful part must also be rendered beautiful; but they are themselves decorations, and treated as such, at last even forming centres around which decorations are grouped, and affording patterns after which they are designed.

The piers in large and highly enriched churches are now of great beauty. The usual plan is of a central circle with four, eight, or more slender shafts, (often quite detached,) clustered around it. The shafts are frequently surrounded by bands or fillets, a feature which they borrow from late Norman,<sup>1</sup> (though the section is very different,) but which they do not transmit to the Decorated: and this fillet occurs in the shafts, in door and window jambs, in short everywhere where shafts are found. The shafts are generally of Purbeck or other dark marble. In smaller churches the pillars, instead of being surrounded by free shafts, are frequently of a quatrefoil section, no part, or but a small part of the central circle appearing. The octagonal shaft is also now pretty frequent.

The foliage of capitals, and other parts which follow the same form, as brackets and corbels, no longer imitates that of the Corinthian acanthus, nor is it the almost indescribable knotted and knobbed foliage of the Normans; but it is equally conventional though in a different way.<sup>2</sup> It is usually described as crisped and curled, rising on stiff stalks which form part of the composition from the neck of the capital. It turns over beneath the abacus

<sup>1</sup> There are remarkable examples at S. Peter's, Northampton.

<sup>2</sup> The Decorated foliage is more natural than the Early English. The

Perpendicular again becomes more conventional, though of very different forms.



with a peculiar curve ; and though stiff it has a singular grace, from its luxuriance and the delicacy and sharpness of its execution.

The mouldings of this style are bolder and more effective than any other. It must be remembered that an elaborate Norman arch was formed of several subarches, and that the mouldings were cut in the wall and soffit planes of these, the point of junction of each subarch with its principal being left square. In this style, especially at first, the mouldings still occupy the wall and soffit plane almost exclusively : but instead of the retiring angle made by the junction of one order with another, (i.e. of the subarch with its principal,) being left square, a three quarter round is struck from the point of junction of the two orders as a centre, so that now the several orders of mouldings are separated by a deep hollow. The several surfaces, originally square, of the orders, are also deeply indented with hollows, and the bowtels or prominent portions of the mouldings thus left, are of bold forms, as three quarter circles, retaining their hold on the mass only by a narrow neck, and enriched sometimes by one, two, or three fillets. There is also a bowtel, expressively called keel-shaped, very distinctive of this style, which terminates externally in a point. But it would be impossible without sections to convey any impression of the contour of Early English mouldings.

These matters touch the very principle of mouldings, and form an important part in the history of their development, or they would not be stated so much at length. The same may be said of another characteristic of the Early English, as compared with the preceding and subsequent mouldings.

We have already observed that the Normans were fond of decorating surfaces, and that their most elaborate decorations of moulded surfaces, were rather enrichments of mouldings, than themselves actual mouldings. This is true for instance of the medallion, of the chain, and of the chevron, which are commonly called mouldings, but which are in fact repetitions of unmoulded figures, upon the surfaces of mouldings. Now these unmoulded decorations always in the Norman occupy the prominent parts ; in the Early English, the dog-tooth in its several varieties and the nail-head, (the only two forms at all analogous



with those before mentioned,) occupy the hollows, and not the prominent surfaces. And this rule holds in all the succeeding styles, the ball-flower of the Decorated, and the flat four-leaved flower of the Perpendicular, still retiring within the slopes and hollows. In the contour of these ornaments there is something characteristic of the several styles to which they are appropriated, so that they not only do co-exist, but there is a manifest reason why they should co-exist with their attendant forms. *The dog-tooth* of the Early English is sharp and angular, and deeply seamed, and receives the light on prominent points and edges: *the ball-flower* of the Decorated is rounded and softened, and its lights and shadows are gently blended: *the Perpendicular flower* is flattened and frittered away in its effect, and has no part vividly presented to the eye. Again, in their arrangement. *The dog-tooth* is set in one continuous serrated rank; its expression is force and exuberance as well as beauty: *the ball-flower* occurs at moderate intervals, uncrowded and yet rich, without force, but perfect in beauty: the rank of distant *flowers in the Perpendicular* is poor and attenuated, without the force and beauty of exuberance and combination.

There is yet another character in certain Early English mouldings of great richness, which must be noted, because its total disappearance in the subsequent styles indicates the progress towards a distinct continuousness of lines, free from abrupt transitions, from breaks and intersections of several parts. I have perhaps too often observed, how the decorations of Norman mouldings occupy their prominent faces: there are also decorations of another class which seem to belong to two several parts of a suit of mouldings, and to bring their prominent faces together. For instance, "the beak head," "the cat's head," and "the bird's head," each a decoration of a suit of mouldings, originates in the upper square and curls over the lower semicircular member. The "open heart," does the same, and the "overlapping"<sup>1</sup> even encloses the mouldings of two planes at right angles to one another, in one network of decoration. The chevron sometimes, as in the south doorway of Hargrave,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See all these figured in the Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, No. II.



Northamptonshire, and in the west doorway of Orpington, Kent,<sup>1</sup> connects the mouldings of different planes in a very remarkable manner. These last are instances of transition to the Early English, and will therefore at once lead us to note the Early English adaptation of this method.

We find the same thing then in the Early English, though here foliage is always the connecting link between the members of mouldings. In the south door of Woodford,<sup>2</sup> the filleted edges of two mouldings separated by a third, throw off a leaf which curls over the intervening hollow, (which it leaves free,) and meets the fillet at the edge of the central bowtel. In the rear arch, and again in the head of the lights of the east window of the choir of Romsey, the beautiful foliage unites several moulded members in the same way.<sup>3</sup> In the exquisite and highly characteristic monument of Archbishop Walter Grey, in the south transept of York Minster; the foliage springing from the surface of the tomb curls over the shafts, otherwise free, which support the gablet over the head of the figure; and some of the foliage of the capitals of the shafts instead of curling downwards, as if turned back by the abacus, rises over it, and rests its topmost leaves upon its highest moulding; peculiarities, slight as they are, which will be seen in the plate of this monument in Britton's History of York Minster. A reference to these figures will at once exemplify my meaning,<sup>4</sup> and as I should despair to make myself intelligible without the help of a figure, I shall not labour the description farther.

Now in the Decorated and Perpendicular mouldings the decorations always repose in the hollows, and never wander from the single hollow in the bosom of which they are shaded. In the Early English this is the case with those decorations which

<sup>1</sup> Brandon's Analysis, Sec. I. Semi-Norman, plate 1.

<sup>2</sup> Churches of Northamptonshire, No. V. p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Petit's account of this church in the Winchester volume of the transactions of the Archæological Institute.

<sup>4</sup> See also an example from Winchester, and another from Salisbury, among the Early English mouldings in the Glossary. Also the details of the arcade in the north of the nave of New Shoreham, Sussex. Brandon's Analysis, Section I. Semi-Norman, plates 2, 3, 4.



originate in the hollow ; but others spring from a prominent round or fillet, and these wander over the intervening hollow, and rest on the next salient point. The extreme beauty of every instance of this kind makes us regret its infrequency at all times, and its utter extinction at last ; and we must trace its early disappearance to the love of facility which took deep root at the birth of the Flowing Decorated, and gives expression (that of ease and grace as opposed to luxuriance and successful effort) to the architecture of that day.

We conclude the chapter, as usual, with one or two instances of the destruction of ecclesiastical edifices, and we still find the hand of violence and of sacrilege but too active in the work of demolition.

In 1264 the Church of Rochester suffered grievously from sacrilegious violence. The Earl of Warren and Lord Leyburne kept the town and castle of Rochester, against the Earl of Leicester and the Barons. Among other excesses committed by the assailants, these servants of the devil entered the church of S. Andrew with drawn swords, and there slaughtered several of the children of the church, together with others who had fled thither for safety ; crucifying them, as it were, with their LORD (it was on the morrow of Good Friday,) Who suffers in His elect. They destroyed many muniments and much treasure belonging to the church ; and as the monks fled to the very altars for safety, with wicked hands they drew them forth from thence, following them even round the altar on horseback. O day of tears and of woe, in which the noble Church of Rochester, with all its wealth, became the spoil of base men, who gave to it no more reverence than to the vilest shed or stable. All its gates were burnt, its choir resounded with the voice of woe, and the organs uttered only notes of lamentation. The sacred places, the very oratories, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the infirmary, in short all places which were more holy than the rest, were converted into stables for horses, and were everywhere choked with the filth of animals and the corruption of dead bodies.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ Ecclesiam insuper B. Andreae satellites diaboli gladiis evaginati introgressi, filios ipsius et quosque re-  
pertos in ea cum timore et horrore

crucifixerunt cum Domino qui patitur in suis electis ; auro et argento aliisque pretiosis inde violenter ablatis. . . Equites vero in equis armati circa alta-



On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, in the year 1272, while the convent of Norwich was singing prime, a terrible storm of thunder and lightning broke over the church, and a thunder-bolt at the same time struck the tower of Trinity Church with such violence, that several stones were cast down to the ground, and much damage was done to the church. All the brethren except three fled in terror from the church, and of these one fell to the ground as if dead; the other two continued to chant their parts until the rest returned. These things seemed to many to presage some greater misfortune, and the event justified their belief, for on the morrow of S. Laurence in the same year, the citizens of Norwich besieged the monastery, and having in vain endeavoured to effect an entrance by force, they set fire to the great gates and burnt them, together with a parish-church which stood beyond, and with all the ornaments, books, and images which it contained. At the same instant they set fire to the great alms-house, and to the gates of the church, and to the great bell-tower, which were all destroyed, together with the bells. Some of them also threw fire with balisters from the tower of S. George into the great bell-tower which was outside the choir, from which fire all the church was miraculously preserved, except the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin. Thus they burnt the dormitory, the refectory, the locutorium, the infirmary, with the chapels, and almost all the buildings of the court. Several of the servants, some subdeacons, and some clerics, they slew in the cloisters, and within the enclosure of the monastery; some they dragged away and put to death in the city, and some they imprisoned. They carried off the sacred vessels, and books, the gold and silver, the vestments, and everything that was not destroyed by fire, driving away all the monks except two or three;

ria discursantes, quosdam ad illa confugientes nefandis manibus extraxerunt. O luctuosa funestaque dies, in qua nobilis Ecclesia Roffensis cum omnibus contentis in ea vilium hominum facta fuit prædatio, qui ipsi non plus honoris seu reverentiæ quam vilissimo prostibulo seu tugurio deferebant! *Portæ siquidem ejus circumquaque exustæ sunt, chorus ejus*

*in luctum, et organa ejus in vocem flentium sunt concitata. Quid plura? loca sacra, utpote oratoria, claustra, capitulum, infirmaria, et oracula quæque divina, stabula equorum sunt effecta; et animalium immunditiis spurcitiisque cadaverum ubique sunt repleta.*"—Edm. de Hadenham, *Annal. Ecc. Roff. Anglia Sacra*, I. 351.



and this course they pursued for three days. For this the city was placed under interdict, and it happened that a certain bell in the bell-tower which had been broken at the same time, fell to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Anno MCCLXXII. In die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, hora qua conventus Norwici prima psallebat, facta sunt tonitrua magna et coruscationes et fulgura; sed et ictus tonitruui in tanta fortitudine simul in turrim Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Norwici descendit, quod lapides quamplurimos de præfata turri horribiliter evulsit, et in terram violenter prostravit, et eam non mediocriter deturpavit. Sed et omnes fratres præ timore de choro fugerunt, exceptis tribus, quorum unus cecidit in terram quasi mortuus, et cæteri duo psalmodiam pro modulo suo sustentabant, quousque cæteri reversi: unde creditur a pluribus, quod ista acciderant in præsagium futuri et majoris infortunii. Eodem anno cives in crastino S. Laurentii, obsederunt curiam monachorum per girum; qui cum per insultum non potuerunt habere ingressum, apposuerunt ignem, videlicet ad magnas portas monasterii, ultra quas erat quædam Ecclesia parochialis; et eas cum prædicta Ecclesia et cum omnibus ornamentis, libris et imaginibus et cum singulis in eadem contentis combusserunt. Item apposuerunt ignem in eodem instanti ad magnam domum eleemosynarum, et ad portas Ecclesiæ, et

ad magnum campanile; quæ omnia cum campanis statim combusta sunt. Quidam vero ex ipsis extra turrim Sancti Georgii ignem in magnum campanile, quod fuit ultra chorum, per balistas traxerunt; ex quibus ignibus tota ecclesia præter capellam Beatæ Mariæ miraculose salvata est; combusserunt dormitorium, refectorium, aulam hospitum, infirmariam cum capella; et quasi omnia ædificia curiæ consumpserunt igne. Quam plures de familia, aliquos subdiaconos, aliquos clericos, aliquos laicos, in claustro et infra septa monasterii interfecerunt; aliquos extraxerunt; et in civitate morti tradiderunt, aliquos incarceraverunt. Post quæ ingressi, omnia sacra vasa, libros, aurum et argentum, vestes et omnia alia, quæ non fuerunt igne consumpta, deprædati fuerunt: monachos omnes, præter duos vel tres, a monasterio fugantes. His non contenti, malitiam suam usque ad tertium diem continuaverunt, comburendo, interficiendo, deprædando . . . et quoddam tintinnabulum in campanili eodem tempore fractum cecidit."—Bartholomæi de Cotton, *Annales Norwicensis*. *Anglia Sacra*, I. 399.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PERIOD OF GEOMETRIC TRACERY.

CONFUSION OF ARRANGEMENT IN ECCLESIOLOGICAL WORKS.—INTRODUCTION OF TRACERY; ITS FIRST DEVELOPMENT IN GEOMETRIC FORMS, COETANEOUS WITH THE EARLY ENGLISH FOR A LONG TIME, AND WITH THE DECORATED STYLE ON ITS FIRST APPEARANCE.—OF CUSPING AND TRACERY IN GENERAL.—OF PANELLING.—RESULTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF TRACERY.—CHAPTER-HOUSE OF YORK.—MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL.—RIPON MINSTER.—EXETER CATHEDRAL.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—WELLS LADY CHAPEL AND CHAPTER-HOUSE.—TEMPLE-BALSALL. — “ARCHITECTURAL PARALLELS.” — TINTERN.—GUISBOROUGH.—VALE-ROYAL ABBEY.—QUEEN ELEANOR’S CROSSES.

THE student of ecclesiastical architecture must have felt, when he would apply the rules which he has learned from Mr. Rickman’s invaluable work, that in one portion of his arrangement there is some confusion. To the Early English, Rickman gives the reigns of Richard I., John, Henry III., and Edward I., or the interval between the years 1189 and 1307; yet in describing the style to which he gives the name Decorated, and to which he assigns the two next reigns, or the interval between 1307 and 1377, he especially classes under that style the geometrical tracery, or that tracery in which “the figures, such as circles, trefoils, quatrefoils, &c., are all worked with the same moulding, and do not always regularly join each other, but touch only at points; and this,” he says, “may be called geometrical tracery.”

Now it so happens that a very large proportion of the buildings in which this kind of tracery is used, belongs to the period before called Early English. And the examples which might have been supposed to clear up the difficulty, only make it greater. Thus, in speaking of the chapter-house at York, which has splendid geometric tracery, he says, “The chapter-house is of *Decorated* character.” Yet the chapter-house,



though certainly not erected according to the popular account in the time of Archbishop Walter Grey, who died in 1255, is clearly of a character which prevailed during a considerable part of that period which Rickman assigns to the Early English style.

A very laudable desire on the part of the most competent writers on the same subject, to retain the nomenclature of their great master, has perpetuated the confusion. For example, the east window of Romsey Abbey is even earlier in character than the chapter-house at York : it is, indeed, purely Early English in mouldings and decorations. It has, however, geometrical tracery—if tracery it can be called—when the masonry between the circles is not pierced. This window is called Decorated by Mr. Petit, one of the first ecclesiologists of the day ; but with a hint that it is chronologically somewhat earlier than some specimens generally called Early English. The whole passage is so indicative of the confusion to which I allude, that I shall transcribe it. “The windows of the choir are very beautiful specimens of the earliest Decorated window. They are of three lights, with wide shafted mullions, and geometrical tracery of foliated circles in their heads. The jambs internally are enriched with knobs of foliage, the design of the two windows in this respect being not quite the same. In many points these windows have more of an Early English than a Decorated character. Their date is probably earlier than the cloisters and chapter-house at Salisbury.”<sup>1</sup>

Where there is this confusion of terms, as applied even by the same person, no wonder that different persons, and they equally well qualified to speak with authority, describe the same window differently. So the great east window of Raunds, which is called Early English by the author of the description of that church in the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, is included in Mr. Sharpe’s Series of Decorated Windows.

Amidst all this confusion, the general tendency has been of late, to arrange with the Early English by far the greater proportion of those examples which answer to Rickman’s definition of Geometrical Decorated : a few of the later examples only

<sup>1</sup> Description of Romsey Abbey Church in the Archæological Institute’s Winchester Volume, p. 12.



being treated as transition from Early English to Decorated. The characters which this peculiar style has in common with Early English, perhaps, justify this arrangement. The mouldings are generally of perfectly Early English character, and so are the clusters of foliage, the bosses, and other ornamental appendages. There are, besides, many instances in which the pure and simple Early English lancet was used, during the reign of the geometrical tracery. How, then, are the two styles, if they be two, to be separated, in a system which is in part chronological? How are they to be united, in a system which is also in part founded on similarity of parts?

It is, however, a most exquisite style,—perhaps the most perfect of all the styles; for its tracery has the completeness and precision of the Perpendicular, without its stiffness; the variety of the flowing Decorated, without its licence and exuberance; while its minor details partake of the boldness and sharpness of the Early English, which need not fear to be compared with the ornamental accessories of any subsequent style.

These difficulties meeting us on either hand, I shall venture to treat of this peculiar development of mediæval architecture, as sufficiently distinct from Early English to need a separate description; and yet as inseparable from it in chronological order, and as having more in common with it, though at first sight so very dissimilar, than with any other style.

Besides the intrinsic beauty of this style it is important as affording the first full development of tracery and of cusping, with all their power of enriching large windows, and of bringing together several lights as one whole. Here, therefore, we may best investigate the history of tracery, with its effects on the size and proportions of windows, and on those various enrichments which fall into the arrangements of orbs,<sup>1</sup> or compartments of tracery, and which are evidently copied from the windows of their respective styles.

The Normans were absolutely without means of relieving the formal outline of the apertures of their windows. Their successors felt the want and soon employed cusplings or foliations to their lancets, but not in general in buildings of a very high order,

<sup>1</sup> The very term orb, which is a mediæval term, gives the parentage of panelling. An orb is a blind window.



as Salisbury for instance, and the transepts of York, in which the lancet is left to assert its grace and dignity by its own beautiful proportions, and by happy combinations. In this way we have the finest groups of Early English windows approaching in character to one window as nearly as a common hood without, and a common rerevault within can make them, yet still without tracery or even cusping. But by and by a farther connection between the lancets, where they were associated in couplets or triplets was desired, and the space between their points was pierced, and the whole group formed to the eye one window, of two or more large lights, with one or more smaller and subordinate lights between their heads. This piercing however did not necessarily follow any of the lines of the lancets with which it was associated. It was generally a circle, trefoiled or quatrefoiled, though the lights over which it was placed were always pointed, and generally without foliations; sometimes it was a quatrefoil without a circumscribing circle, as in the triforium of the nave of Romsey, and in the very beautiful triforium of the choir of Ely Cathedral. Nor were the mouldings at all the same with those of the jambs and arches below them. In short these subsidiary lights were mere piercings of the wall, no otherwise connected with the windows than by being placed in immediate juxtaposition with them. This device too was more generally used where two, than where three lancets were grouped together; a triplet being more happily combined into one group by lengthening the middle light, and so giving harmony and subordination of parts to the whole.<sup>1</sup>

So long as the additional piercings remain separated from their lancets by a portion of unmoulded masonry, and unassociated with them by a series of mouldings common to the whole composition, they cannot be said to form tracery. They are no more entitled to that name than the foliated piercings or panels in the spandrels of arches, or other places where relief is required. As for instance the trefoils in spandrels at Ely, where the quatrefoils

<sup>1</sup> In the triforium of the nave of Salisbury, four lancets are thus associated; first two and two under one arch, with a quatrefoil between their heads; these again under one arch with the

intervention of an octofoil. The same arrangement in principle occurs in the triforium of Whitby.—See Sharpe's *Parallels*.



between the lancets have been already mentioned. But by and bye the circles or other figures, (but circles in nine cases out of ten at the least) are formed of the same mouldings as the window-jambs, and rest immediately on the tops of the lights, or on one another, and no unmoulded masonry is left between them; even the several triangles or other spaces left by the contact of the circles, being pierced, wherever they are large enough for the mouldings of the several touching circles to be carried through them.<sup>1</sup> And now we have *tracery*, strictly so called; that is, a net work of open masonry, in no part more solid than it necessarily becomes by the touchings and intersections of several lines of equal thickness.

In the succeeding style, or that of the flowing Decorated, instead of forming perfect figures, each complete in itself, and touching and resting upon its neighbours: the several lines of the tracery branch out of each other, and return again to the same point, having in their course given out other branches; an arrangement which often produces a feeling of insecurity, by the imperfect figure of each part, and still worse by the insufficient balancing of several parts,<sup>2</sup> and this, with all the splendour of that most fascinating style, renders its tracery perhaps

<sup>1</sup> In very early examples, to which it is hard to deny the name of tracery, those interstitial spaces are not pierced, simply because they are not large enough for the repetition of the whole mouldings; as in the south chancel of Etton, Northamptonshire, figured by Sharpe: compare with this Croft, Yorkshire, south chancel, in the same series, where two of the spaces are just, and only just pierced: and Warmington, Northamptonshire, north chancel, where all are pierced, but some of them just as narrowly escape being solid. Sometimes but very rarely, and here also in early examples only, the central circle does not touch the supporting circles or lights in the fillet which describes the figure, but only in the outer moulding, so that the fillet, with part at least of the chamfer moulding is repeated. This is the

case at Easby in the east end of the refectory (see Sharpe); and though this is a splendid example, the particular feature here alluded to must be reckoned a defect.

<sup>2</sup> As published examples are of course chosen for their excellence, it is difficult to refer to marked examples of these defects, though the church tourist finds them perpetually. I may however refer to Heckington, (one of the finest examples in the kingdom, so that the defect is the more remarkable) the great window of the south transept of which is figured by Sharpe. Let the eye follow the tracery bars which rise from the two central and primary monials, till they meet those which branch off from the jambs on the opposite side, and let the included tracery be set aside, and a very distorted arch is the result. Even the



inferior to that of the more severe geometrical which it supplanted. The Perpendicular tracery regained its appearance of security and repose, but at the expense of much grace, all the lines being either parallel with the jambs or at right angles to them, and the whole space being filled with parallelograms, instead of the fantastic branchings of the Decorated, or the circles of the geometrical tracery.

During the whole of the periods here mentioned foliations or *cusplings* are profusely used, and though they are not of the essence of tracery, they greatly enhance its effect. There are windows of considerable size of the geometrical tracery without a single cusping, composed only of circles touching each other:<sup>1</sup> but generally the circles are foliated, three, four, five, or more times; and the same may be said of the spaces in the other styles. But there is this to be observed in the cusps of the geometrical tracery, that they follow the precision of the lines within which they are confined, being almost universally of parts of single circles, not ogeed, or in any way combined with other circles of different diameters and another centre; and also that like the tracery to which they are subordinated, the circles never cut but only touch one another. Indeed this precision and non-interference of parts is so great that except the monials of the great lights, the elevation of every part of a window, arch, tracery, cusplings, mouldings, and all, may be described with the compasses only, working each line from a single fixed centre.

splendid east windows of Sleaford and Selby, (see Sharpe's *Parallels*,) are not quite free from the like defects. Examples of perfection of form are happily more frequent in fine buildings. As for instance the two-light west window at Hedon, the three-light north aisle window in the same church, that of four lights, north chancel at Nantwich: those of five lights east of south aisle, Hull, and east chancel, Yaxley, Huntingdonshire. And above all the great window of nine lights at Carlisle. All these examples are figured by Sharpe.

<sup>1</sup> In the east window of Raunds in

Northamptonshire, there are seven circles without a single foliation, though an early style of cusping, to be mentioned presently, occurs in the heads of the six great lights. In the still more remarkable one at the west of the north aisle, Grantham, there are fourteen circles, equally without cusps, unless the seven circles within the great central circle can be called its cusps, and the six in the heads of the lights, the cusps of arches in which they are contained. The total height of the window is thirty-seven feet six inches, the total width twenty-one feet six inches.—Sharpe.



In describing tracery and cusping, it is frequently necessary to mention the several suites or orders of *mouldings* of which they are composed, and it may be worth while to pursue these features, small as they are in the space that they occupy, but infinite almost in their use and variety, through their several characters.

The simplest monial or tracery bar that can be employed, or even conceived, is a plain rectangular block or post of stone. Such may still be seen in the stone cottages in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but nowhere does it remain, so far as I know, in any ecclesiastical building however rude. Even of this, however, we have a memorial in the flat part, next the glass, in a peculiar form of monial, sometimes seen in very early Geometric windows: but an additional order is always placed upon it.<sup>1</sup>

As this construction however was soon utterly abandoned as it deserved to be, I shall leave it quite out of the question for the future, and pass to the next simplest form, which was retained so long as tracery lasted, and is found in combination with other forms even in the most elaborate suites of mouldings.

This simplest and most important monial has a rectangular section, with the edges chamfered, leaving a narrow fillet outwards, which, when the monials and tracery bars are thus simple, describes the pattern of the window. This section is varied in three ways: the first and most common is by substituting a hollow for a plain chamfer. The second is by giving an ogee form to the chamfer,<sup>2</sup> the third, which is peculiar so far as I have observed to early Decorated, is called the channelled chamfer, and is formed by cutting out a hollow in the chamfer with receding angles instead of a receding curve.<sup>3</sup> But all these in

<sup>1</sup> See the north chancel window of Warmington, Northamptonshire, (Sharpe) the first edge or fillet next the glass, in the two lights, is the square-edged monial to which I allude. The effect is always peculiar, and generally heavy and very flat, for the second or outer order of the monial is sufficient for solidity and effect, and the lower one appears a needless addition to its width. The monial of the

two-light west windows of the south aisle at Church Langton, in Leicestershire, is ten inches in width, the lights being only sixteen inches each.

<sup>2</sup> The whole suite then becomes a double ressalt with a fillet.

<sup>3</sup> For plain chamfer, see south chancel window, Oundle. For the hollowed chamfer, Carmel, Lancashire, south aisle of choir. For the double ressalt with a fillet, Yaxley, Huntingdonshire,



principle resolve themselves into a chamfered rectangle, and are so treated in composition. Where this occurs once only in the monial, and tracery bars, and it is carried through them all, the window is said to have one order of mouldings. Perhaps it should be added, that the hollowed chamfer has a remarkable importance as being the only moulding which is ordinarily made to carry ornaments in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles: it is in this that the ball-flower of the fourteenth, and the four-leaved flower of the fifteenth century so frequently occur.<sup>1</sup>

Where the tracery is at all elaborate, a subordination of the several parts is needed,<sup>2</sup> and this is effected by giving to the jambs and monials, or perhaps to some of the monials only, and to some of the tracery bars, an additional order of mouldings. But mouldings are accidents only of which the monials are the substance. This is effected therefore by reduplicating the monials, by setting a smaller one upon a larger, so to speak, and then moulding the edges of both, leaving however a fillet free in the external surface of each. And now the fillet of the outer moulding describes the greater lines, that of the inner moulding the smaller lines of the tracery, and the whole of the cusping.

and for the channelled chamfer, or the angular hollow in the chamfer, Croft, Yorkshire, chancel south side,—all in Sharpe. This last form occurs in Moulton church, Northamptonshire, where it is assigned to the early part of the fourteenth century, by a precept of the Bishop of Lincoln to repair the church, dated 1298; and also at Harleston in the same county, the church of which was built in 1325.

<sup>1</sup> The windows of the south aisle of Leominster church, contain three orders of mouldings in the jambs, and in addition a fourth order in the cusplings: all these are of the hollowed chamfer, and all are filled with ball-flowers. There are no fewer than 820 in each window.—See Sharpe's *Parallels*.

<sup>2</sup> It is however remarkable, that even in some very elaborate windows of the Flowing Decorated there is no subordination in the tracery; another sign of inferiority in this style. The east window of Ringstead (Sharpe,) has complicated tracery, but one order of mouldings serves for all. This is but one example of many. In the ordinary reticulated tracery this is necessarily the case, and this (as twice at the east end of Higham-Ferrers,) is sometimes carried through the head of a window of five lights. The simple intersecting tracery is also necessarily without subordination of mouldings, and this too may be found in five-light windows, as at the east end of Stanford, Northamptonshire.



In like manner a third order is often added, by the same means, and for the same purpose; a third series of still more subordinate lines of tracery, together with the cusplings, being wrought out of the innermost suite of mouldings.<sup>1</sup>

Each of these orders may be varied as the first was: perhaps the most common form for the first is the hollowed chamfer, and for the second and third the ressalt with a fillet, but no absolute rule need be attempted for the forms of mouldings in combination.

We have hitherto supposed that the external member of the outer suite is a fillet, as it is in a vast majority of cases. But in Geometrical,<sup>2</sup> and again in late Perpendicular tracery,<sup>3</sup> it is sometimes a bowtel; a form borrowed from the jamb-shafts of the Early English, the effect of which it carries through the whole pattern; sometimes indeed it is treated as a shaft, and has a capital at the spring of the arch, and a base at the window sill.<sup>4</sup> In a very few instances, the fillet becomes a sharp edge: i.e., the monial is chamfered to a point. This character is found at Hull, and also at Temple Balsall, both Geometrical or very early Decorated.

Since these several orders of mouldings grew out of the necessity of subordinating and distinguishing the several parts of the tracery and of the cusping, it will follow that where any part of the tracery is of the same order as the cusplings, it will be reduced in constructive character to a higher species of cusping; and again, that where the subsidiary monials are of the same order or orders as any part of the tracery, they will be reduced in like manner to the character of tracery; and even in very rare instances to that of cusping. This may seem a refinement, or even a paradox, but on examination it will be found to be true.

<sup>1</sup> For windows with two orders of mouldings I may refer to two from Hedon, Yorkshire, and to the east window of Ripon; for three orders to the Lady Chapel, at Wells, to the great window at Carlisle, and many others figured by Sharpe.

<sup>2</sup> Temple Balsall, (Sharpe.) This beautiful chapel deserves a very careful

description. Its windows form a glorious series of geometrical designs admirably treated, and worked with great precision.

<sup>3</sup> At Brington, (chancel) Northamptonshire, the date of which is about 1520.

<sup>4</sup> As at Whitby north aisle, and Howden, both in Yorkshire. (Sharpe.)



For instance, the three-light window of the north chancel aisle, Beverley, figured by Mr. Sharpe, has monials and principal tracery of two orders. It has also cusplings and subordinate tracery of one order. Take away the whole of the second order, and you take cusplings and secondary tracery with it. These are of the same relative importance. The primary tracery no more wants the secondary tracery than it wants the cuspling, to complete a well-balanced frame-work. The subsidiary tracery is but a higher kind of cuspling, and enriches the first pattern on the same principle. Again, in the south chancel window of Claybrook, Leicestershire, also given by Mr. Sharpe, the subsidiary tracery is identical with the cusplings in character and in office, and the most unpractised eye in throwing aside the one would throw aside the other.<sup>1</sup> In the east of the founder's chapel, Trent, Somersetshire, the same is the case in a very remarkable degree with all the tracery within the greater lines, and so also in the circles in the windows in Temple Balsall. Indeed in such cases as the latter, the system of triangles in the circles is at once referred to cuspling, in its spirit and office, though it may be more convenient to call it tracery.

The instances in which the monials become part of the tracery are most frequent in large and very complicated windows, though by no means confined to them.

In the south transept of Howden a perfect two-light window with a circle in the head, is converted into a four-light window with appropriate tracery and cusplings, by the addition of secondary monials, of the same suite with the subordinate tracery. In the Lady Chapel, Wells, the secondary monials are of the same suites with the secondary tracery; the tertiary tracery being of the same suite with the cusplings. In the east window of Ripon Minster, the great circle is of the same orders with

<sup>1</sup> This window exemplifies some of the peculiar defects of Decorated tracery, and I shall therefore give Mr. Sharpe's description of it.

"It is not often that a three-light window is found to have all its lights of equal height; the manner in which this is accomplished in the present

example constitutes its peculiarity. Although this design is, on the whole, not inelegant, this arrangement and the manner in which the interstitial spaces thus occasioned are filled up, exhibit the difficulty of preserving this equality in a window, the head of which is filled with flowing tracery."



the primary monials ; the small circles with the secondary monials, which would be removed with them, and in fact are a part of the same system of tracery. In the windows of the south aisle of Sleaford, which are of a more advanced character, this cohesion of the secondary monials with the secondary tracery is very striking, and perhaps it is even more so in the north aisle of Whitby.<sup>1</sup>

The cases are very extreme in principle, (indeed they are almost abnormal,) and of very rare occurrence, in which the monials can at all be referred to the cusping, and before we adduce them we must advert to a very peculiar style of cusping not uncommon in early geometrical tracery.

The most perfect cusping takes with it the last suite of mouldings, and the most ordinary takes a part of the chamfer of the last suite of mouldings. There is, however, a kind of cusping which drops from the soffit plane of the tracery, and forms another order of mouldings for itself. Of this drop cusping, as I shall call it, there is a fine example in the heads of the lights, and in the smaller circles of the east window of Ripon Minster : smaller examples are sufficiently obvious. Now this cusping, like the more ordinary cusping, sometimes runs into a subsidiary tracery, and even lets fall its own monials, which become drop tracery and drop monials. This is the case with the secondary tracery, elaborate and highly ornamented as it is, and with the secondary monials equally rich, though very much attenuated by the very condition of their existence, in the windows already referred to in the south aisle of Leominster. Here the primary monials and tracery carry on the last suite of jamb mouldings, the secondary tracery and monials drop from the soffit of the primary tracery, and rest on the soffit of the window sill.<sup>2</sup>

There are other parts of a building besides the windows which owe much of their decorations to the same forms of which the windows themselves are actually composed, and in these we

<sup>1</sup> All figured by Sharpe.

<sup>2</sup> Sharpe. The abundant use here made of this elegant and useful series, requires a special acknowledgment. The judgment with which the examples are chosen is manifest from their hav-

ing afforded examples of every kind of tracery, cuspings, and mouldings which I had to adduce within the Decorated and Geometric periods in a somewhat elaborate discussion of the subject.



have the tracery of the time repeated. Thus in the triforium arcade we have a series of arches relieved by the same tracery and cusplings with the windows, and in the panellings of plain surfaces the orbs or compartments are in fact mere blank designs of windows, in all their parts. And it should be observed that the introduction of tracery wrought a change, not only in the detail, but in the principle of these decorations. So long as the Norman style continued, and so long as the Early English was without tracery, large surfaces of wall were enriched by arcades or pillars and arches actually standing out from the wall; but with tracery came panelling,—a far lighter and more manageable decoration,—and this appears very early, as for instance in the west front of Salisbury, where the panelling is of geometric tracery, while the windows are still plain lancets. In the later Perpendicular, panelling was carried to excess, but still few new forms were struck out, the tracery of the windows being almost invariably servilely followed in every work whether of wood or stone.

What we have said of the introduction of the pointed arch, is in some degree true of the free use of tracery, which followed so shortly upon it: its results are not to be stated by a mere description of a lancet window or a combination of lancets, as compared with a Decorated or Perpendicular window of equal beauty in its kind. Not only the windows of King's College differ from simple lancets, but the building itself is far other than it would have been had there not been another element introduced into the composition. The lantern-like lightness of the chapter-house at York, of the choir clerestory at Norwich, and the whole of S. George's or Henry VII.'s Chapel, is to be traced in all justice to those who filled the first window-head with circles.

Among the works in which the history of the Geometrical style is embodied, we shall necessarily mention many which are usually styled pure Early English, and indeed which are so, both in date and in character, except for the intermixture of geometrical tracery with the simple forms of the lancet style. Thus we have already found geometrical panelling in the west front of Salisbury. Geometrical triforium arcades occur at Westminster, and in both the transepts of York. But in the chapter-house at



York the accessories, especially the buttresses, become rather Decorated in character. The architect, proud of his successful work, inscribed this building with the legend,

*"Ut rosa flos florum sic est domus ista domorum."*

And well is the boast realized. Rickman justly speaks of its exquisite beauty, and says, "This chapter-house is by far the finest polygonal room without a central pier in the kingdom, and the delicacy and variety of its details are nearly unequalled." To this we must add as a link in the history of arts, that the roof is of wood, a material which we shall find employed at Ely in vaulting a large space by Alan of Walsingham in the next century, and that the original painted glass is of extreme beauty.

To proceed to the history of churches.

There are few ecclesiastical edifices which exceed that of the Cistercian monastery of S. Mary, of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, in the interest attached to their foundation. Prince Edward, eldest son of Henry III., and afterwards King Edward I., on his return from the Holy Land, was nearly lost in a dreadful storm, when he made a vow to the Blessed Virgin, that if he escaped, he would found a convent for a hundred Cistercian monks. The vessel righted itself, and was brought into port; the prince landed last; immediately the ship went to pieces, and disappeared in the waters. Afterwards, when a prisoner of the rebellious barons, Prince Edward received much kindness from the monks of Dore Abbey, and he was induced to select them as the tenants of his promised foundation. Accordingly, in 1273 a colony of this house was removed to Dernhall, and thence to Vale Royal, the original name of which had been Quetenue Halewas, and Menechene, two names which the chronicler of Vale Royal interprets into "*Sanctorum frumentum*," and "*monachorum sylva*," and finds in them presages of the sacred use to which it was to be appropriated. Nor were there wanting other signs of the future sanctity of the place; for ages before the building of the monastery, on the festival of the Virgin, amidst the solitude that then reigned on its future site, tradition affirmed that the shepherds had heard music, and celestial voices, and the sound of bells, and had seen a radiance that



changed the darkness into day, and visions of a sacred pile not yet commenced. The first stone was laid by Edward in person, August 2, 1277; Queen Eleanor laid two stones, one for herself, the other for her son Alphonso: many nobles then present also laid stones for themselves, and Robert Burnell,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Chancellor of England, joined the Bishop of S. Asaph in the celebration of high mass. When the fabric thus commenced was completed, old people believed that they recognized the design as a vision of their youth, having often seen the holy pile, from turret to foundation stone, glittering in the night, with a miraculous illumination, visible to the rest of the country at a surprising distance.

The first four abbots resided in a temporary edifice while the abbey was in progress, and on the Feast of the Assumption, 1330, after the expenditure of thirty-two thousand pounds, the monks entered their new residence. Not a trace, except a few doorways to the offices of a more recent house, remains of this splendid pile.<sup>2</sup>

The choir of Merton College, Oxford, must be placed before 1277, in which year Walter de Merton, the founder of the college and the builder of the choir, was drowned in crossing a river. The mouldings are still very Early English, and the buttresses, to which character owes so much, are far more of that style than those of the chapter-house at York, though the tracery has made some advances in the combination of geometrical forms. Perhaps, indeed, we may refer to about this time the introduction, to which allusion has been already made, of triangles as subordinate to the general lines of tracery, and almost taking the place of cusplings<sup>3</sup> to the circles into which they are introduced. Of this arrangement the central circle in the head of each window of Merton is a fair example. We have something the same in S. Nicholas' church, Guildford, and in the

<sup>1</sup> This Prelate was himself a munificent man and a great ecclesiastical architect. Did he design the work in the commencement of which he then took part?

<sup>2</sup> The account of Vale Royal Abbey is from Ormerod's Cheshire, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> The use of spherical triangles for tracery, as in the Lady Chapel at Wells, presently to be noticed, is very different from this introduction of triangles within the main lines of the tracery.



Bishop of Winchester's palace, Southwark, both ascribed in the Glossary of Architecture to about 1280. It may be doubtful how far the principle of symbolism influenced this use of triangles within circles. However, it belongs to this style, chiefly if not exclusively. The choir of Ripon Minster owes a great part of its beauty to the great east window<sup>1</sup> with its Geometrical tracery, of which the history, I believe, is not known. The Cathedral of Exeter is very rich in geometrical tracery, having been commenced in 1280 by Bishop Quivil, and carried on by his successors, Thomas Bytton and Walter Stapleton, until the reign of the full flowing Decorated. The east end of Lincoln is a glorious specimen of the same style, as well as portions of Lichfield Cathedral. The Lady Chapel of Wells, the work of Bishop William Bytton, brother to the prelate already mentioned as continuing Exeter Cathedral, is in the same style, but the tracery is in spherical triangles instead of in circles; and the chapter-house at Wells, built in the time of Bishop William de la March (1293—1302), and "by the contributions of well-disposed people," is among the most beautiful fabrics in the kingdom.

This last is the latest work of any consequence that can at all be referred to this style. Among edifices whose history is only inferred from their architectural features, perhaps one of the most beautiful of this date and character is the Church of Temple Balsall, in Warwickshire, formerly the chapel of a preceptory of Knights Templars, from whom the parish has part of its name. In this chapel there are windows of not fewer than eight different patterns, each of three, four, or five lights, and one a rose window of sixteen compartments. In all these the geometrical tracery is carried to the highest stage of perfection. In one only there are spherical triangles, but these are filled with circles. They are the latest characteristics of the whole building, all else (i. e., of the original fabric,) being rather Early English than Decorated in the mouldings and other details.<sup>2</sup>

Of our greater monasteries, now in ruins, there are few which

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Sharpe's series of Decorated Windows.

<sup>2</sup> I am glad to be able to state that

this splendid example of Geometrical Early English is in the hands of Mr. Scott.



do not exhibit some large and beautiful portions of this style. The chief of these may be studied with great pleasure and profit in Mr. Sharpe's "Architectural Parallels," a work which combines in a very high degree the technical precision, without which it would be useless to the architect, with an elegance and artistic character, by which it will be recommended to every person of taste. The drawings of Tintern are perhaps the most valuable as examples of the geometrical period. Those of Guisborough, a ruin inconsiderable in extent, in a district of Yorkshire seldom visited, may be referred to as giving perhaps the earliest triforium, treated after the same manner which became universal with the flowing Decorated; not, that is, as an arcade of distinct arches, but as a continuation of the composition of the clerestory.

I shall conclude this chapter with a reference to one of the most interesting groups of buildings in the kingdom. The crosses of Queen Eleanor are not less important for their historical association, than for their value as examples of ecclesiastical art, and they have the additional value to the student of Gothic architecture, as forming a happy link in his *memoria technica*, for their date is fixed by the death of Queen Eleanor, and they are decided examples of the Transitional character which the Geometrical style at last admitted.

Thus commenced about the middle of the thirteenth century, and ended with the crosses of Queen Eleanor, (1292) or possibly a little later, a distinct style, neither Early English nor Decorated, but coincident for a long time with the pure and simple Early English, and for a shorter time with Decorated no less pure, and decided, and partaking during its course, of the mouldings and accessories of either style respectively. I cannot leave this style without expressing a regret, that even the fascinating forms of the Flowing Decorated were permitted to usurp the place of its Geometric tracery.



## CHAPTER XIV.

## SCULPTURE AND CARVING, AS DECORATIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF NORMAN SCULPTURE: THE FONTS OF EAST MEON, AND OF LENTON; THE DOORWAYS OF ROCHESTER AND OF MALMSBURY.—EARLY ENGLISH SCULPTURE.—DOORWAY OF HIGHAM FERRERS.—INTRODUCTION OF "ALTO RELIEVO."—WEST FRONT OF WELLS.—EFFIGIES OF HENRY III. AND OF QUEEN ELEANOR.—MONUMENTS OF ROBERT VERE, OF AYMER DE VALENCE, AND OF EDWARD II.—LORD LINDSAY ON THE SCULPTURE OF THIS AGE.—SCREEN IN EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL.—EFFIGIES OF HENRY VII., AND OF ELIZABETH HIS QUEEN.—INTRODUCTION OF THE PAGAN ELEMENT.—ALL GRACE, AND ALL RELIGIOUS FEELING LOST IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.—MONUMENT OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.—THE PAGAN ELEMENT AGAIN INTRODUCED, WITHOUT ANY COMPENSATION, AFTER THE REVOLUTION.—TOMBS OF EARL STANHOPE, OF GENERAL FLEMING, AND OF DR. HALES.—COMPARISON OF THE MONUMENTS OF GENERAL WOLFE, AND OF AYMER DE VALENCE.—SEPULCHRAL CROSSES AT JERVAULX, AT TICKHILL, AND AT LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN.—OTHER CARVED TOMBS.—BRASSES.—JOHN BLOXAM, AT GREAT ADDINGTON; A PRIEST AT WENSLEY; THE PARENTS OF ARCHBISHOP CHICHELE.—DEAN EYRE;—ROBERT BRANNEL;—JOHN SELWYN.—WOOD CARVING.—EARLY SPECIMENS; MOST USED IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—GRINLING GIBBONS.—STALLS AT WENSLEY, AND AT S. NICHOLAS, LYNN.—GROTESQUES.

WE have now arrived very nearly at the culminating point of ecclesiastical architecture, and other arts which followed in her orbit, have kept pace with the *ars regina*, so that now the most splendid buildings have also the most splendid adornments of painting and sculpture. Let us here, therefore, review the progress of the decorative arts, as applied to ecclesiastical architecture.

The most common material of sculpture is so well adapted to resist the effects of time, and in some degree of violence also, that we have very considerable traces of the Norman, and some



few of the Saxon chisel. The latter perhaps differ more in rudeness of execution than in design from the former;<sup>1</sup> and yet nothing can well be ruder than much of the early Norman carving. *Drawing, grouping* and *design* are all terms too significant of advancement for their ruder works. Groups of men and beasts, of all degrees of deformity, often accompanied with trees and foliage still less true to nature, are sketched out in mere surface carving, and imaginary monsters<sup>2</sup> alternate with figures intended to represent some real object in strange confusion. *Repose*, either in the obvious or in the artistic meaning of the word, is a stranger to Norman art even in its higher forms: there is not sufficient harmony of composition for *artistic repose*; and *repose of action* is contrary to the spirit of the people and of the times. Even their religion was one of strong contending oppositions. Christianity habitually presented itself to the Normans, as a struggle against evil powers, rather than as a rest into which we have entered. If both views are true, (as indeed they are in due mutual subordination) the Norman seized upon that most strongly which most harmonized with his national character, which was all action, and much of the action that of violence and strife.<sup>3</sup>

A like zeal was put forth in the contest with all difficulties; and in the hands of a persevering and active generation, sculpture continued to advance. Gervase in his history of the burn-

<sup>1</sup> The monumental stone of the martyrs, at Peterborough, slain by Hubba, in 775, is said to be Saxon, by some competent authorities, but its character seems to me to be wholly Norman.

<sup>2</sup> Serpents, salamanders, and centaurs, are the most frequent imaginary animals; *Serpents* usually signify the devil, and his spirits, and are represented combating with the Christian, or trying to devour a woman, the emblem of the Church. Salamanders occur on fonts in allusion to the words, HE shall baptize you with the HOLY GHOST, and with fire.—The centaur was a badge of Stephen, and where it occurs (as at Adel, Yorkshire,) it is

supposed to indicate the date of the structure.

<sup>3</sup> There is an exceedingly characteristic, and a very good example of Norman carving in the comparatively modern north porch of Hallaton church, Leicestershire. It was originally the tympanum of a door. The subject is S. Michael contending with the great Dragon, in behalf of the souls of men, several of which the Archangel who is winged, on horseback, bears in his bosom, while others are kneeling in terror supplicating his help. The composition and drawing are very superior to most Norman sculptures.



ing and rebuilding of the Cathedral of Canterbury, late in the twelfth century, tells us how the old capitals were plain, the new ones most artistically sculptured. The old arches, and every thing else either plain, or sculptured with an axe and not with a chisel, but in the new work first-rate sculpture abounded everywhere.<sup>1</sup> Still, however, the figures were grotesque and the groupings inartificial: but we must not suppose that there was not *real* splendour, as well as *what would then be called* splendour in such decorations. The profusion of such rude ornaments produces a very rich effect, and though when we judge of it *as sculpture*, we must condemn it altogether; yet when we speak of it *as secondary to the fabric* which it adorns, we cannot withhold our admiration.

A very rapid description of some of the remains of Norman art, in which this richness of aggregation is most remarkable, will fully bear out this estimate, both of the style and of the general effect of the sculpture of this age. The first that I shall adduce shall be one or two fonts, for the Normans often lavished all their arts on this instrument of a Divine ordinance.

The font of East Meon,<sup>2</sup> in Hampshire, is occupied on two sides by an arcade of semicircular arches, with a border of animals above it; and on the two remaining sides with the creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation, the Expulsion from Paradise, (which is represented as a church or palace,) and the ALMIGHTY instructing the fallen pair in the method of tilling the ground.

The font of Lenton, in Nottinghamshire, (figured and described in Van Voorst's series of fonts,) is covered in every part with elaborate sculpture. On one side is the Crucifixion; the figure of our SAVIOUR occupying a large cross, which branches, and is foliated over the whole surface; while the two malefactors are on smaller crosses at the base, with the soldier piercing our SAVIOUR's side; and above are angels waving their censers out of Heaven, in adoration of their Crucified LORD. The relative sizes of the figures are remarkable, as indicating a principle of mediæval art according to which the most important figure was also the largest, and so the most prominent; an object which is attained in the higher art of later times by grouping in its

<sup>1</sup> Willis, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in Vol. X. of the *Archæologia*.



highest sense. Another side is filled with figures of angels and cherubim under the several arches of two arcades, the one over the other, and in a larger central space at the bottom is a representation of the Taking down from the Cross. One of the other two sides is filled with a large cross of ornamental foliage, and the other is divided into four compartments, each containing a subject from Scripture. The parts not occupied with these subjects are filled with ornamental patterns. Thus the whole surface is covered with sculpture, and though each particular figure may be rude, the whole effect is very rich.

But the doorways of the Normans were made to receive the greatest share of enrichment; both, perhaps, on account of that desire so manifest in their arrangements, to which allusion has been before made, to present the richest surface to the approaching worshipper; and also because of the words of our LORD, "I AM THE DOOR," consecrating the door for ever as a symbol of His own Person, to which there is plainly an allusion in the figure of our SAVIOUR frequently found in the doorway planes of this style, and in the same relative position in later examples. The west doorway of Rochester is a splendid instance. It is of five concentric arches, or orders, enriched with very elaborate devices, and resting on as many banded shafts, with highly wrought capitals. Two of the shafts, however, have a peculiar importance here, for above the bands they become statues of King Henry I. and Matilda, his Queen; the King holding a sceptre in his right hand, and a book in his left,—the Queen holding the charter of the royal endowments to the abbey; and these (as is truly observed in Winkles' Cathedrals, where this door is figured,) are among the very earliest statues in the kingdom. The doorway plane is occupied with a representation of our SAVIOUR, in the attitude of blessing, surrounded by worshipping angels, and holding a book, while below are the Twelve Apostles.

But the south door of Malmsbury Abbey is perhaps the most splendid example in the kingdom. I describe it from the beautiful elevation in the "*Monumenta Antiqua*."

The outer arch consists of no fewer than eight concentric suites of mouldings, alternately principal and subordinate, the latter having a concave surface, enriched with various Norman forms of foliage, and other characteristic patterns; the former



having a convex surface, so as to assume a greater prominence, and composed of groups of figures arranged in oval medallions, bounded by the links of a kind of branching chain-work. These groups represent probably several portions of the histories of the Old and New Testaments. The Presentation of CHRIST in the Temple, His triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, His Last Supper, His Crucifixion, His Entombment and Resurrection, His Ascension and the Sending of the HOLY GHOST, being very apparent on the outer principal suite of mouldings. Of such groups, not fewer than eighty must have adorned this door in its perfect state. The doorway plane of the inner door has upon it the figure of our LORD in a *vesica piscis*, supported by two angels.<sup>1</sup>

As the Early English style approached, the efforts of the sculptor began to arrogate to themselves an individual and separate beauty. The subjects of the Normans were still in some degree retained, but the execution was greatly improved. The monsters, dragons, and serpents, have more life, and more of what would be called "nature," if the objects themselves were natural, and there is sometimes a force in them almost terrible.<sup>2</sup> Scriptural subjects are still retained in low relief, as in the doorway of Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire, which is adorned with several circles, or medallions, of the following subjects:—1. The Salutation of SS. Mary and Elizabeth; 2. the Angel appearing to Zacharias; 3. the Adoration of the Magi; 4. Our SAVIOUR in the Temple; 5. His Baptism; 6. the Angels appearing to the Shepherds; 7. the Crucifixion; 8. the Annunciation; 9. the Disciples at the Sepulchre; 10. the Descent into Hell.<sup>3</sup> In other cases some legendary history connected with the church, or its patron saint, is similarly treated, as the story of S. Guthlac in several medallions in the doorway plane of Croyland Abbey. The foliage of capitals and other

<sup>1</sup> The west doorway of the same Abbey-church has more than half perished. It was very rich, though not so elaborate as that above described. On one of the capitals of the jamb-shafts is the centaur, the cognizance of King Stephen, and usually taken to determine the date to his time.

<sup>2</sup> As for example, in the splendid bosses still preserved from the ruins of S. Mary's Abbey, York, where the dragons contending with beasts are terrible in their muscular contortions.

<sup>3</sup> See No. I. of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton.



ornamental members assumes a character quite its own, instead of the ungainly imitation of the Corinthian capitals, which was the highest effort of Norman sculpture in the representation of foliage. There is still, however, a memorial, at least, of the classic acanthus, in the manner in which the Early English foliage springs from the neck of the pillar, and rises till it curls downwards on reaching the abacus; but even this character is lost in the next style, and the free foliage entwines the capitals like a wreath, instead of climbing up it like the acanthus of the Greeks.

But the greatest stride which sculpture made about the beginning of the thirteenth century, was in the use of *alto-relievo*, instead of the very low relief of the preceding centuries; and as grouping as well as the forming of separate figures made a proportionate advance, the statuary of this age has a very considerable degree of merit. The most glorious assemblage of figures and groups in the kingdom is in the west façade of Wells Cathedral, some of which have extorted very high praise from the classical Flaxman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Bishop Joceline," says Flaxman, "rebuilt the Cathedral Church of Wells from the pavement; which having lived to finish and dedicate, he died, in the year of our LORD 1243.

"The west front of this church equally testifies the piety and comprehension of the Bishop's mind; the sculpture presents the noblest, most useful and interesting subjects possible to be chosen. On the south side, above the west door, are alto-relievos of the Creation, in its different parts, the Deluge, and important acts of the Patriarchs. Companions to these on the north side, are alto-relievos of the principal circumstances of the life of our SAVIOUR. Above these are two rows of statues, larger than nature, in niches, of kings, queens, and nobles, patrons of the church, saints, bishops, and other religious, from its first foundation to the reign of Henry III. Near the pediment is our SAVIOUR come to

Judgment, attended by Angels and His Twelve Apostles. The upper arches on each side, along the whole of the west front, and continued in the north and south ends, are occupied by figures rising from their graves, strongly expressing the hope, fear, astonishment, stupefaction, or despair, inspired by the presence of the LORD and Judge of the world, in that awful moment.

"In speaking of the execution of such a work, due regard must be paid to the circumstances under which it was produced, in comparison with those of our own times. There were neither prints, nor printed books to assist the artist; the sculptor could not be instructed in anatomy, for there were no anatomists. Some knowledge of optics, and a glimmering of perspective were reserved for the researches of so sublime a genius as Roger Bacon, some years afterwards.



Hitherto, whatever manner is observable, may be attributed chiefly to imperfect skill: it is the manner of the infancy of art. But we soon find occasion to notice the influence of foreign schools on English sculpture; and with skill in execution, and even in design, came also a mannerism, which is inseparable from that influence of individuals which is the origin of a school, and which in some degree neutralizes the benefit of derived excellence. There is a conventional grace of posture, especially in the carriage of the head, observable henceforward in single figures; except, indeed, in the most beautiful class of figures, the recumbent effigies on tombs; but still there can be no question that the art of sculpture advanced on the whole until the reign of the second Tudor, from which time we may date the decadence of all ecclesiastical art.

It would be too long to mention any fair proportion of the more remarkable sculptures from the middle of the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century: a very small list may serve to indicate the progress of the art.

The effigy of Henry III., and of Eleanor, queen of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey, are by an Englishman, William Tozel, and the statues on the Queen's crosses are also of native workmanship. And in all these there is a very great degree of majesty and beauty, such as could only be produced in times of real and high art. In 1296, we have the monument of Robert Vere, fifth Earl of Oxford, at Earl's Colne, in Essex, the sides of which are richly decorated with figures in niches. In 1308 occurs the very beautiful tomb of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in Westminster Abbey; and in 1334, the monument of Edward II. in Gloucester Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> To the monument of this prince the Abbey of Gloucester was greatly indebted; for when the Abbeys of Bristol, Keynsham, and Malmsbury had

A small knowledge of geometry and mechanics was exclusively confined to two or three learned monks in the whole country; and the principles of those sciences, as applied to the figure and motion of man and inferior animals, were known to none.

"Therefore this work is necessarily ill drawn, and deficient in principle,

and much of the sculpture is rude and severe; yet, in parts, there is a beautiful simplicity, an irresistible sentiment, and sometimes a grace, excelling more modern productions."

<sup>1</sup> This exquisite monument is well figured in the plans, &c. of Gloucester Cathedral, published by the Society of Antiquaries.



refused to receive the royal corpse, Abbot Thokey covered it with a pall, enriched with the arms of the abbey, and carried it from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester, where it was buried with becoming magnificence. This act of loyalty and duty was amply repaid, not only by Edward III., but by the offerings of many pilgrims, which amounted to so large a sum, that after a while the whole church was nearly rebuilt with it.

"Sculpture from henceforth flourished in England," says Lord Lindsay.<sup>1</sup> "Edward III. was an especial patron of the arts, bishops and chapters vied with each other in decorating their churches, and this lasted during the whole of the fourteenth, and the early years of the fifteenth century. The statues of the kings and queens on the screens in the cathedrals of Canterbury and Exeter; the recumbent figures of Edward III. and of Queen Philippa, in Westminster Abbey, the head of the former almost ideal in its beauty, the drapery in both flowing and free; the tomb of Henry V. also there; the series of kings from the Conqueror to Henry V. in the Cathedral of York, the tomb of Richard Earl of Warwick, in the interesting chapel of the Beauchamps, and many others, belong to this period. But the reign of Henry VI. witnessed a change, and from the death of the hero of Agincourt downwards, the art declined, till Henry VIII. introduced the Italian style of the cinquecento."<sup>2</sup>

Westminster Abbey, to which reference has already been made more than once, contains so many and various sculptures each in the perfection of the beauty or deformity of their respective times, that a history of ecclesiastical sculpture from the reign of Henry III. to the present day might be fairly illustrated from the stores of that church alone. Among the most remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Sketches of Christian Art, iii. 252.

<sup>2</sup> A striking instance of the contrast between the beauty of the Gothic sculpture, and the barbarity of that introduced by Henry VIII. when applied to the same subjects, is found in the cross erected at Bristol during the reign of Edward III., and containing statues of that monarch, and of his Queen Philippa, to which have been added figures of Henry VIII. and of

Queen Elizabeth, in all their grotesque costume, equally removed from the classic and the Gothic beauty which adorns each its appropriate subjects. The history of this cross is singular enough to be mentioned here. It was taken down and re-erected in the Cathedral, again taken down, and at length purchased by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and now adorns the grounds at Stourhead House, Wiltshire.



are the decorations of the screen of Edward the Confessor's chapel, and especially the fourteen alto-relievos which are continued along the upper part of it, in which the history of the royal saint is represented, according to the legend of his life and miracles by Ailred, which was presented by Abbot Laurence to Henry II. on the day of the translation of Edward's relics to his new shrine.<sup>1</sup> (1.) The first compartment represents the prelates and nobility swearing fealty to the Confessor, when in his mother's womb. The Queen stands in the midst of the assembled nobles, with her left hand upon her waist, and occupies her most important position with becoming dignity. (2.) The next subject is the birth of the Confessor. (3.) The third his coronation. (4.) Then follows his vision of the devil dancing upon the money collected as Danegelt, which led him to remit that most unpopular tax. (5.) Then Edward's generous conduct to the thief who was purloining his treasure: the King raises himself on his elbow in bed, while the thief is kneeling at the open hanaper, to which he has just returned for the third time. "You are too covetous, youth," the legend makes the King to exclaim, who had seen the whole theft, "take what you have, and fly; if Hugoline (the chamberlain) come, he will not leave you a single doit." The thief, who thought the King had been asleep, fled without being pursued, and when Hugoline discovered the loss, the King soothed his fear and passion, saying, "Perhaps he needed it more than me; and he has left sufficient for us." (6.) In the sixth compartment is represented an appearance of our SAVIOUR to King Edward, when he was partaking of the Holy Eucharist. (7.) The seventh is the vision of Edward, in which he beheld the drowning of the King of Denmark, who was preparing to invade the kingdom. (8.) Then follows the quarrel between Tosti and Harold when children at the King's table; from which, according to the legend, the prophetic mind of Edward presaged the future character and fate of the two noble youths. (9.) The ninth subject is one of the most picturesque of the ancient legends, and is not badly rendered in the language of sculpture. In the Decian persecution (about 250,) seven Christian youths of Ephesus fled into a cave under Mount

<sup>1</sup> See plates and description in Neale's Westminster Abbey.



Celion to avoid death, and having committed themselves to God, fell asleep. The Emperor stopped the mouth of the cave with stones, which were not removed till the year 479, when the youths arose, and thinking that they had slept but one night, despatched one of their number into the city to purchase bread, for which he offered a coin of Decius in payment, which led to the discovery of the sleepers. They were permitted only to warn Theodosius, who then wore the purple, of the certainty of the Resurrection, when they again fell asleep, "and even to this day," says Gregory of Tours, "they slumber in the very same place." Gregory lived in the sixth century, and the seven youths were destined to sleep for five centuries more. The Confessor was observed to smile at the Eucharist one Easter day. He told his attendants afterwards that he had been transported in vision to the city of Ephesus, and to Mount Celion, and had there seen the seven sleepers in their cave. Letters were despatched to the Emperor of Constantinople, giving an account of this vision, and the messengers being taken to the cave, the sleepers were found as Edward had described. In the sculpture the messengers are seen on horseback arriving at the cave, and the sleepers are discovered lying on their left sides, as they had appeared to Edward in the vision. (10.) In the tenth compartment, the Confessor having already emptied his purse in almsgiving, gives his ring to S. John the Evangelist, who appears before him as a beggar, while he is engaged in the consecration of a church. (12.) In the twelfth, S. John delivers the ring, with a message to Edward, to two pilgrims, who, (13,) in the thirteenth, return it again to the King. (11.) In the eleventh compartment, blind men are restored to sight by washing in the same water into which the King has dipped his hands; and (14) in the last, the Confessor dedicates his church:—that very Westminster Abbey which he but just lived to finish, in which he was buried, within the vast confines of which he was twice translated, which Henry III., in reverence to his sainted predecessor, rebuilt, and which Henry VI. adorned with further tokens of pious veneration, among which was in all probability the very screen we are describing.

The lower part of the screen, along the frieze of which these subjects are carved, is of very rich tabernacle-work; the several



niches were once occupied with statues, and the whole design must have been exceedingly gorgeous. The several groups above enumerated tell their tale as well as they could do in the hands of the most celebrated artists, and they are by no means deficient in grouping and harmony of effect. The principal figures are about a foot high. All delicacy of finish is lost from the violence which the screen has suffered; but it would be unreasonable to doubt that in this respect it was equal to the elaborateness and skill of the design.

With respect to the subjects, they must not of course be taken as *historically* true, but they have another kind of truth which is *artistically* and even *intellectually* higher than historic truth: they are in their *true place*, they are told in the *spirit* of truth, they are true many of them according to the eternal standard of *moral* truth, and even *historically* and *theologically* they are true according to the notion of the times when they were designed; and in every respect they are in full *keeping* with their place and purpose.

We now turn to a very different example of art. With the exception of the recumbent figures themselves, which retain the clasped hands, and general repose of character of the old monumental effigies, no parts of the elaborate monument of Henry VII., and Elizabeth his queen deserve one syllable of this praise. It is needless to say that they are placed in that most gorgeous effort of architectural design, Henry the Seventh's chapel, and that they are yet more closely enshrined by worthy and elaborate brazen tabernacle work, in which the character of the chapel is preserved. The artificer of this tomb was a Florentine graver and painter, named Torrigiano, or as he is called in the indenture of covenant for the work, Peter Torrisany: but though a foreigner he could not plead ignorance of character of the building in which his work was to be placed, for the same instrument described him as "now being resident in the precincts of Saint Peter of Westminster," and the chapel was then nearly finished, and the "closure" or shrine of brass at least well advanced. But if the king, when he provided for his monument in his will, hoped that it would be erected in accordance with the style which he had himself adopted in his own foundations, he was sorely deceived. The tomb is principally of black marble, (or



touch, as it used to be called,) but the figures and alto-relievos are of copper gilt. All this is in accordance with the will of Henry,<sup>1</sup> but certainly nothing could be farther from his conception than the pagan-like medallions of figures on the sides of the tomb, when he ordered that in the sides and both ends of the same tomb, *tabernacles* should be graven, and the same to be

<sup>1</sup> This document is so much to our present purpose that I transcribe part of it. "Howbeit I am a synfull creature, in synne conceived, and in synne have lived, knowing p'fitely that of my merits I cannot atteyne to the lif eu'rlasting, but oonly by the merits of thy blessed passion and of thi infinite m'cy and grace, Nathelesse my moost m'ciful Redemer, Maker, and Salviour, I trust that by thi special grace and m'cy of the moost blisshed moder euir Virgyne, oure lady saincte Mary, in whom after the, in this mortall lif hath eu'rbeen my moost singulier trust and confidence, To whom in al my necessities I have made my continuel refuge, and by whom I have hiderto in al myne adu'rsities eu'r had my sp'ial comforte and relief, wol nowe in my moost extreme nede, of her infinite pitie take my soule into her hands, and it p'sent vnto her moost dere Son: Whereof swettest lady of m'cy veray moder and virgin, Welle of pitie and surest refuge of al nedefull, moost humbly, moost entierly, and moost hertely I beseche the: And for my comforte in this behalve, I trust also to the singuler mediacions and praiers of all the holie companie of heven; that is to saye, Aungels, Archaungels, patriarches, prophets, apostels, eu'ngelists, martirs, confessours, and virgyns, and sp'ially to myne accustomed avoures I calle and crie, Sainct Michaell, Sainct John Baptist, Sainct John Eu'ngelist, saint George, saint Anthony, saint Edward, saint Vincent, saint Anne, saint Marie Magdalene, and Saint Bar-

bara, humbly beseching you not oonly at the houre of dethe, soo to aide, soccour and defende me, that the auncient and gostely enemye ner noon other euill or dampnable esprite, haue no powar to invade me, ner with his terriblenesse to annoye me; but also with your holie praiers, to be intercessours and mediators vnto our Maker and Redemer, for the remission of my synnes and saluacion of my soule.

"And we wol that our Towmbe bee in the myddes of the same Chapell, before the high Aultier, in such distaunce from the same as it is ordred in the plat made for the same Chapell, and signed with our hande: In which place we Wol, that for the said sepulture of vs and our derest late wif the Quene whose soule God p'donne, be made a Towmbe of Stone called touche, sufficient in largieur for vs booth: And upon the same, oon ymage of our figure, and an other of hers, either of them of copure and gilte, of suche faction, and in suche maner, as shalbe thought moost conuenient by the discrecion of our executors, yf it be not before doon by our self in our daies. And in the borders of the same towmbe, be made a conuenient scripture, conteignyng the years of our reigne, and the daie and yere of our decesse. And in the sides, and booth ends of our said towmbe, in the said touche vnder the said bordure, wee Wol tabernacles bee graven, and the same to be filled with Ymages, sp'cially of our said avouries, of coper and gilte."



filled with *images of his especial avouries* or patron saints, whom he had mentioned at the beginning of his will. The figures indeed are there, but instead of the "tabernacles" beneath which they were to be placed, the tomb is divided into the requisite number of compartments by Grecian pilasters covered with arabesque foliage; and the figures are contained in medallions surrounded with a Roman civic wreath: and there, instead of kneeling to pray for the deceased, or standing to bless or to guard him, in the habit or with the symbols of sanctity in which they had ever appeared to his mind's eye, and which were at least Christian and characteristic, they stand most unmoved spectacles, to spectators equally unmoved. Instead of bending beneath the mystic weight of THE UNKNOWN CHILD, and leaning a giant's weight on the upturned pine tree which supports him, *S. Christopher* is a respectable Roman citizen carrying an infant on his shoulders with some affection, and much affectation, and holding up a branch of whitethorn to amuse him. *S. George* is a swaggering soldier in the accoutrements of the empire, telling the story of one of his victories to *S. Anthony* and his pig. Even the BLESSED VIRGIN with the HOLY CHILD could never be taken elsewhere, for that dearest and happiest creation of Christian art: in the compartment in which she appears with *S. MICHAEL* she is a pagan Tellus, or Latona, or some matron showing her child to a distant relation. At the four corners are perched as many winged Cupids who once held the scales and sword of justice, the royal banner, and the dragon of Cadwallader, from whom Henry affected to trace his Welsh descent. As these are all stolen and the occupation of the Cupids is gone, they appear at a disadvantage; but of the whole tomb we may say, (again excepting the recumbent figures) that there is not throughout a trace of Christian costume, or a shade of Christian feeling.

This tomb of Henry VII. is one of the first—perhaps quite the first—of any importance in the kingdom, in which the Pagan element so entirely predominates; and this, be it remembered, is by an artist who brought his principles of design from Italy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I shall have occasion by and bye to note a smaller decadence of art in the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and

in the tomb of Henry III., by Pietro Cavallini, also an Italian.



I confess my joy and pride, as an Englishman, that the fall of the Teutonic art even in England, in all its forms and applications, is not to be traced to us : and that its revival, or at least its due appreciation in the present day, did not originate beyond the Alps, no nor beyond the seas.

It must be admitted, however, that whatever was barbarous, and whatever was unchristian in art, was too readily *adopted* here. If we held it justifiable to separate Christian religion from Christian art, there is a style which we should account more wretched than even that of revived paganism. Though statuary was not absolutely banished from churches as a mere decoration by the Reformation, yet its use was practically confined to monuments ; and these, under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, became barbarous beyond all former example,—we may almost say beyond all antecedent possibility. Still, however, there was an intention to be religious. The worthy alderman and his good wife who kneel, all ruffs and buckram, at the opposite sides of an impossible desk, *seem* to be praying to one another, but are *intended* to be praying to God. All the accessories of their tombs are so hideous, so perfectly harmonious with themselves, that while we look at the death's-head and thigh-bones, balls and pyramids, hour-glass and scythes, cherubs in tears, children peering over one another's heads in ranks of boys and girls to the number of some sixteen or twenty, all in black of the same suit, and then read an epitaph as long as the Iliad and twice as false, we are tempted to doubt whether this could have been the time of Shakspeare and Bacon, and a host of men who could not have been what they were in an age of absolute prostration of thought and feeling. Of such monuments perhaps the paragon was that of SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, the same who danced himself into favour with Queen Elizabeth, and into the wool-sack, at a court mumming. It stood between the lady chapel and the south aisle of old S. Paul's Cathedral, and perished in the great fire. It is engraved by Hollar, in Dugdale's History and Antiquities of S. Paul's Cathedral, and I turned to the plate with the intention of describing it, but its hideousness defies description, as its vastness defied mensuration. Of its latter quality Stowe, in his survey of London gives an amusing notice. Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walsingham were buried near



the dancing knight, but had no monuments, whereon a merry poet wrote thus ;—

“ Philip and Francis have no tomb  
For *Great Christopher* takes all the room.”

I need hardly add that the allusion is to the *Great S. Christopher* the mighty giant,—“four-and-twenty feet he was large, and thick and broad enough,”—of monkish hagiology.

The monuments of this age deserve no longer notice. We may leave them with a regret that as they are sacred, both from the House of God, in which they are erected, and from the purpose for which they are designed, it would not be right to destroy them utterly. This can, however, hardly be said, of those which are absolutely unchristian in form and spirit, which arose out of that same revival of pagan art to which we have alluded before, but which did not dare to put itself forth without disguise till the Revolution. Statues of Hercules, Neptune, Minerva, Esculapius and other gods : figures of the Fates twining and cutting the thread of life :<sup>1</sup> heathen virtues crowned with celestial garlands by heathen deities ;—these and the like subjects can be consecrated by no service to which they are put, and by no place into which they are obtruded.

I shall take one or two examples almost at random, from Westminster Abbey.<sup>2</sup>

The first EARL STANHOPE is a Roman soldier, attended by *Minerva*, *Victory*, and *Cupid*, the latter bearing his shield of arms.<sup>3</sup> A sarcophagus, in itself a covert denial of the resurrection of the body, inscribed with CONGREVE's name is strown with books, masks, and other emblems of the Drama. At the

<sup>1</sup> A recent anecdote connected with this device is not less worthy to be recorded than the pasquinade on Sir Christopher Hatton's monument. A nobleman had employed a sculptor to restore some of his family monuments, among which was one in which the venerable Atropos had just cut the thread of one of his predecessors. His grace was startled at being told with well feigned concern, that

his estates and titles were no longer his. The furbisher of monuments little dreaming of the mischief he was doing, had pieced the severed thread.

<sup>2</sup> Neale's Westminster Abbey is my authority in all these.

<sup>3</sup> Proving beyond dispute that heraldry was not brought into western Europe by the Crusaders.



base of the monument of GENERAL FLEMING are, "the figures of *Minerva* and *Hercules*, who are employed in binding to the latter's club a serpent and a glass; and thus forming a trophy, composed of the emblems of valour, wisdom, and prudence."

STEPHEN HALES, D.D., is represented, "on a large medallion, supported by the figures of *Religion* and *Botany*, the former is sitting, and deploring her loss; the latter holds a cornucopia, and at her feet *The Winds* are displayed on a globe, in allusion to Dr. Hale's invention of ventilators. A pyramid, surmounted by an urn, composes the back-ground."<sup>1</sup>

But the monstrosity of such devices in a Christian church, and as memorials of those who were on earth, and still remain members of CHRIST, (and what fellowship hath CHRIST with Belial?) cannot be justly exposed except by way of contrast. Stand then for a moment before the monument of AYMER DE VALENCE, in the choir of Westminster Abbey, for we still linger among the tombs in that glorious pile. Eight figures, now headless and otherwise mutilated, but originally of exquisite workmanship, stand within as many tabernacles along the side of the tomb: they represent most likely the patron saints of the deceased, some saints they certainly represent, and they symbolize too plainly to be mistaken the article of THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS. Over the tomb a magnificent canopy is raised in forms of beauty harmonizing with the Gothic piers and arches, beneath which it is erected. The knight on his charger fully caparisoned surmounts the whole, while his arms and those of his nearer relations appear on various parts of the tomb. This would perhaps appear to savour of the vainglorious display which we deprecate when it assumes another form; but we must remember that the knight was then known best by his coat armour; and that emblazoned shields merely tell in the simplest language then in use, the name and title of the deceased. We must also remember, that right or wrong, chivalry, and with it heraldry, was closely interwoven with the *Religion* of mediæval knighthood. Not struggling in the battle, not marshalling his troops, not reaching forth to a crown of laurel, or complacently listening to the trumpet of Fame resounding in his ears, but re-

<sup>1</sup> The pyramid and the urn are symbols, the one of fire worship, and the other of heathen cremations.



cumbent, as he might have fallen asleep at the last, with hands closed in prayer, lies the deceased hero; his feet pressed against a lion in memory of the promise, "the young lion and the dragon thou shalt tread under thy feet," and at his head is a group representing attendant spirits bearing his soul to Abraham's bosom.<sup>1</sup>

And now raise your eyes, and you will see, beyond the recumbent figure of Aymer de Valence, another monument of far different character. *That* too commemorates a hero, and a Christian hero; it is the monument of General Wolfe. Lest I should be tempted to speak sneeringly, I will borrow the approving words of another, and still I will confidently leave the contrast to produce its proper effect.

"It consists of an elevated basement and sarcophagus; upon which, on a couch under an open tent, is a naked statue of the dying Wolfe, supported by a grenadier, who appears raising him up by the left arm, to receive a laurel wreath, and palm branch from a descending Victory; his right hand is placed over the wound in his breast. His habiliments and arms lie scattered near the couch, and beneath his feet is the French flag. In the back-ground is a mourning Highland serjeant; and on the left, an oak tree, on which are hung tomahawks and scalping-knives. Upon the basement, which projects circularly in the middle, are two gaunt lions, couchant; and at each end on the flanks, within an oval, is a wolf's head, erased, in low relief. In front, is a singular representation in *lead*, but bronzed over, of the landing of the troops under the Heights of Abraham, with the scaling of the precipices, and advance into action." Now let me observe that this is not an exaggerated specimen of this kind of monument, it is chosen solely for the accident which enables the spectator to compare it, without moving, with that of Aymer de Valence, and if possible to admire both, and if not, to choose which he will admire and which he will condemn. It is well that there are now few who will not choose the *Christian* before the *Pagan* memorial, and who will not wonder how it could have been otherwise at any time in a Christian country; still we have before us a fierce struggle with the pagan element in a

<sup>1</sup> This device has been adopted in the cenotaph of the Princess Charlotte in S. George's Chapel, Windsor.



thousand strange and revolting forms, before the cry will be heard in the temples which we have been erecting for them ever since the coming of the Dutch William, "THE GODS ARE DEPARTING."

I must not leave the subject of sculpture without a few words on several classes of monuments which can hardly aspire to so high a rank among works of art as the recumbent effigies in full proportions. The first of these are the foliated crosses of which the numbers still existing, though multitudes have perished, is quite beyond calculation. A very interesting series occupies the nave of the church, and the chapter-house at Jervaulx, and the soil having been suffered to collect over the whole site of this abbey for many generations, has preserved them very perfectly. The whole building is now cleared out, and is a most admirable ecclesiological study. But by far the most beautiful sepulchral crosses of this kind which have come within my notice, are two in the neighbouring churches of S. John Baptist, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and of Tickhill, in Yorkshire. The first occupies the whole surface of a stone *en dos d'âne* which it covers with the most perfect foliage and fruit of the vine, in very deep relief. The other is a cross of Calvary flory, of eight rays, with the lamb triumphant in the centre of the cross. A great peculiarity in this tomb leads to the mention of another class of monuments:—out of the side of the stone, above where the right hand of the entombed warrior rested, appears a mailed hand issuing, and grasping a sword, as if to express a military ardour which could not be quenched even by death. I know of no other instance of the *hand* alone appearing:<sup>1</sup> but in the neighbouring churches of Wadworth and Loversall, and also in the far distant churches of Rothwell and Cotterstock, Northamptonshire,<sup>2</sup> are stones representing the head and clasped hands appearing through an opening at the top, and the feet through an opening at the bottom of the tomb, the intermediate portion being left plain, perhaps for an inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written I have found in Vol. III. of the Antiquarian Repository, a drawing of a coffin-lid in Rumsey church, where a female's hand in like manner appears, holding a staff of

office. The cross is an ordinary foliated cross, of no great elegance. It probably commemorates some Abbess of Rumsey.

<sup>2</sup> Also Hambleton, Rutland.



Whither is this curious design to be referred? Not to want of art or of liberality; for besides that the most elaborate parts are given in this instance, the execution seems to have been excellent, and the depth of the carving, the canopy being relieved no less than six inches, indicates no parsimony of time or labour. Perhaps it is intended thus to represent the superincumbent weight of the tomb, together with the continued existence of the spiritual and moral faculties; as if the soul still had feet to walk in the way of life, hands to clasp in prayer, and a head, and a tongue to praise God, while the body, the most carnal part, loses its individuality and energies being under the power of corruption.

Sepulchral brasses still remain to be noticed. The designs of brasses evidently originate from the several kinds of sculpture on monuments of stone. We have the same recumbent figures, we have also beautiful crosses, as we have on the stone coffin-lids: a very graceful and interesting specimen of which occurs at Higham Ferrers, over the remains of the father and mother of Archbishop Chichele.<sup>1</sup> The niches and figures on the sides of high tombs are transferred to the margins of brasses, and with a splendid array of canopies emulate the beauty of the most elaborate masonry and sculpture. Of these several glorious specimens perished in the flames which destroyed S. Paul's Cathedral, among which was one of Thomas Eyre, Dean of S. Paul's, who died A.D. 1500. The twelve apostles occupied as many niches at the edge of the brass, and at the top was a medallion of the Annunciation;<sup>2</sup> while the figure of the dean himself in full pontifical habits, occupied the usual place in the centre of the stone. Such a design as this, with the usual accompaniment of enamel, must have been very splendid.

Allusions to particular circumstances in the lives of the persons commemorated are very rare, in the monuments, whether brasses or statuary, of the middle ages. There is, however, one of a recumbent figure at Coverham Abbey, in Yorkshire, surrounded by hounds and stag in full pursuit and flight, which doubtless records a passion, if not a particular act of the de-

<sup>1</sup> See Churches of Northamptonshire, No. I.

<sup>2</sup> Hollar's Plate in Dugdale's His-

tory and Antiquities of S. Paul's Cathedral.



ceased ; and at King's Lynn, in Norfolk, is a very curious brass of Robert Brannel and his two wives, Letitia and Margaret, and "under the feet of the figures, occupying the whole width of the brass, is represented a sumptuous festival, at which twelve persons are present, nine males and three females ; the figure at the head is crowned ; the rest wear the chapeau, . . . . . at each end are seen attendants bearing dishes, with peacocks in their plumes, preceded by musicians with trumpets, shawms, viols, &c. The first dish, a peacock, is presented to the royal personage at the head of the table, by a kneeling figure. It scarcely admits of a doubt," adds Mr. Taylor, from whose *Antiquities of King's Lynn* I am quoting, "that this represents a banquet given by Brannel, during his mayoralty, to Edward III., who about that time frequently visited Lynn, and that the kneeling figure is Brannel himself."<sup>1</sup>

The subject of wood carving is nearly connected with that which is more correctly called sculpture, and must be slightly alluded to. Of very ancient wood-work we have not many remains.<sup>2</sup> A few Early English screens and parcloses may be found, and only a few ; and of lighter tabernacle-work, or misereeres in that style, I do not know that we have any examples.<sup>3</sup> There can be no question however, that the forms and decorations so distinctive of the stone-work of this style were repeated in all those articles of ecclesiastical or general furniture which were constructed of wood ; and of this a very interesting example occurs in a table in the kitchen of the Priory, at Winchester, figured in the Winchester transactions of the Archæological

<sup>1</sup> See also the brass of John Selwyn, (1587), in the church of Walton-upon-Thames, figured in Vol. I. of the *Antiquarian Repertory*. It is reported of this man, that being keeper of her Majesty's park of Oatlands, he in the heat of the chase leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag, while both were at full speed, and drawing his sword guided the affrighted animal with it towards the Queen, and when near her, plunged his sword into its throat, so that it fell dead at her feet.

In memory of this the said John Selwyn appears on his tomb on the back of the stag into which he is thrusting his sword.

<sup>2</sup> A Norman, or rather a Transition screen is given in the Glossary, and also two Early English screens, and one Early English chest.

<sup>3</sup> There is, however, at Aysgarth in Yorkshire, a church very rich in wood-work, a fragment of a seat, with the nail-head occurring upon it, and undoubtedly Early English.



Institute, the legs of which are adorned with the peculiar crisped foliage of the style. The wood-work of the next century is more frequent, but still it is by no means commonly found. We have however several screens, and also some tabernacle work, as that of the restoration of Ely Cathedral, after the fall of the tower in 1322.

But the next style is that in which wood-work most abounds; not only because the perishable nature of the material has forbidden the preservation of older specimens; but because the art of carving in wood was carried to a greater extent, and much more frequently applied to the decoration of churches in the fifteenth century, than at any other time. To this century is to be referred the greater part of the beautiful tabernacle work in our cathedrals, and conventual churches; the glorious rood-screens of Somersetshire and Devonshire, and the lofts wherever they remain, for I do not know that a single rood-loft, or any portion of one of an earlier style has been preserved. The bench ends even in small village churches, are often adorned with excellent carving of this age. And the open roofs, of which Suffolk affords the most numerous and beautiful examples are generally to be referred to the fifteenth century.

Throughout all the styles, the decorations and mouldings of wood-work are identical with those of the stone-work of the same date, the tracery of the windows especially being often copied, without a single variation. It is true that no attempt was made to confuse the constructive provinces of wood and stone;<sup>1</sup> but even in roofs, where the long beam supplants the stone vault, supporting them on a totally different principle, the span-drills are filled with the very same open work that occurs in the mullions and tracery of the windows; and the sides of chests, and the ends of seats have the same character of carving with the stone font, or the panelled surface of a wall; even the buttresses and pinnacles which are here constructively useless, being

<sup>1</sup> There are however a few instances in which wood is made to take the place of stone in construction, as for instance, in the roofs of nave, choir, and transepts of York Minster; at Selby, in Yorkshire, where the roof of

the choir is of wood, but vaulted, after the manner of stone: and in the nave of the very beautiful church of Warmington, in Northamptonshire, which is roofed in a similar way.



repeated in all their forms. This is a rare instance of poverty in principle in mediæval ornament: the higher art, theoretically at least, of giving a character to the designs for wood carving, was not introduced till an age too late for the full application of the principle. With the sixteenth century came the linen pattern, as it is called, which is, as it ought to be, solely employed for wood-work; the coarse arabesque patterns of the Stuart era were used alike in wood and in stone; and a century after Grinling Gibbons<sup>1</sup> gave to wood the grace of living flowers, by a skilfulness and lightness of hand which would have been invaluable in earlier times, had the peculiar decorative capabilities of wood been cultivated. The only instances in which, as a general rule, the older workmen were touched with a feeling which might have led them to anticipate an equal beauty, and to have brought it at the same time into harmony with the types of Gothic art, occur in the poppy-heads of stalls, which are sometimes of exquisite force and lightness combined, and quite escape from the character of stone carvings.

This praise belongs also, in a considerable degree to a very late, but most splendid specimen of stall-work in Wensley church,<sup>2</sup> Yorkshire, and the juxtaposition of some very elaborate Perpendicular work, but of the ordinary character, which occurs in the north aisle, renders the contrast very striking. The stalls in question occupy the north and south sides of the chancel, and are returned along the base of the roodscreen. They have richly decorated ends and poppy-heads, and panelled fronts. Before the poppy-heads are several animals, chiefly heraldic, and it is in the designing and execution of these that the character now alluded to chiefly appears. The figures are 1, (commencing at the south-east, and going round the chancel,) a wyvern, 2. a bear, 3. a lion, 4. a griffin, 5. a hare, 6. an unicorn chained. The hare especially is so good, so spirited and

<sup>1</sup> The throne at Canterbury is his work.

<sup>2</sup> Few churches are so well worthy of a visit from the ecclesiologist as this, though the exterior is far from promising; besides the wood-work above mentioned, the chancel contains the justly celebrated brass of a priest.

The effect of the wood-work in the north aisle is destroyed by some miserable moresque additions. The inner door of the north porch is very good, and the situation of the church, in one of the most beautiful dales in Yorkshire, adds a charm to all these interesting objects.



true to life, that I doubt whether it could possibly be surpassed. Heraldic achievements enrich the ends of the benches, and the following inscription is distributed on thirty shields upon the panels, the letters being beautifully formed of a riband pattern, and very sharply carved. Henricus Richardson hujus [Ecclesiæ? the shield is gone] Rector hoc fecit, [Anno] Dmi. M<sup>o</sup>CCCCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup> Soli Deo honor et gloria.

In the chapel of S. Nicolas, in King's Lynn, Norfolk, there are some stalls of nearly equal beauty,<sup>1</sup> and of very similar character, though a little earlier in date. Here also the heraldic animals have wonderful force, especially an antelope on one of the elbows of a stall, and a tiger, ducally gorged and chained on one of the misereres. But I mention these stalls for a very interesting group, which the carver has introduced into another of the misereres. He has represented himself at work upon some part, perhaps, of these very stalls; and in the background two of his fellow-labourers busied in the same task. His dog is represented sitting at his feet. His initials (or at least some initials,) are given on either side the group: the letters are pierced with a saw and a gouge. It is so seldom that we get any traces of the mediæval artist at his work, that such an example as this is very interesting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his description of these stalls Mr. Taylor says, "In one small spandril which a child's hand would cover, I observed a perfect figure of a man and four birds in various attitudes: and while admiring this, my attention was directed to others, less than half that size, so delicately finished, that even the feathers of the birds are depicted." He very justly adds, "When we look at these minute works, and then think of the vast interior of the chapel, covered throughout with such elaborate productions, we cannot but regret the cold apathy of a succeeding age, that would not even preserve the work, thus carefully bestowed on the house of prayer by their zealous ancestors."

<sup>2</sup> This fine specimen of the stall-

work of the fifteenth or sixteenth century (or rather what remains of it, for a great part of it has been barbarously destroyed) is greatly disfigured by successive coats of paint: not of the rich patterns and colours of the days of its early beauty, but of the dark cold hue, so charming to churchwardens. (Taylor's History of Lynn.) It may, perhaps, be necessary to mention that the ordinary wood-work of the middle ages was painted in brilliant colours—blue, vermillion and green, with the more prominent parts gilt; but I should much doubt, whether the more beautiful late poppy-heads received this addition, and the stalls just mentioned at Wensley were never, I am persuaded, injured by the addition of colour.



We shall scarcely find a better opportunity of noticing those grotesques, which are common to sculpture, painting, and carving, but are perhaps most usual in the carved misereres in conventual churches. Their introduction, even when simply ludicrous, still more when satirical or obscene, into the furniture of the LORD's house, must be confessed to be extremely unhappy: nor do I think that any account that is given of them at all justifies or even excuses their use. Sometimes, indeed, what is intended to be neither the one nor the other, is grotesque and ridiculous simply from want of skill in the designer and the artist: but far more frequently there is an obvious intention to provoke a smile, by ludicrous figures presented to the eyes. Obscene carvings and paintings are sometimes said to be intended to hold up vice to contempt and abhorrence, but I cannot discover in them such a tone of severity and scorn as would fit them for this purpose: they are simply coarse in the same sense in which many of the contemporary tales and poems must be called coarse, and certainly do not tend to correct the prurient fancies which they may call into being. The satire which some of them embody is chiefly to be referred to the jealousies of the secular and regular clergy one against the other, and of both against the mendicant Friars. These grotesques occur in all ages, and in all works of art. They abound in the borders of the Bayeux tapestry. There are several in the paintings of the ceiling of the nave of Peterborough, which are supposed to be Norman in their design and original execution. They occurred in the decorations of S. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.<sup>1</sup> In the Decorated stained glass in Stanford church, Northamptonshire, there are some specimens. There are several in the sculptures with which York Minster abounds;<sup>2</sup> and to conclude with a very late example, they are found in the misereres of Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. A few examples may be cited of these last, which may represent the whole class. A cock in armour riding on a fox, and a fox in armour riding on a cock. A fiend seizing a miser, whose

<sup>1</sup> There are several given in Smith's Westminster, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> See Halfpenny's York; and Browne's York. In the latter work

an unsuccessful attempt is made to give historic interpretations to these grotesques.



riches are falling from his money bag : at the sides fighting cocks, and a monkey beating a drum. A group of boys, one naked and his head between another's knees, while a third is flogging him with a rod. A chained bear, playing on the bag-pipes ; an evil spirit, bearing away a Friar on his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> This last in a conventual church is sufficiently significant : but the secular clergy could forge similar weapons against the Friars, and find grave Divines to point them personally enough. Take the following instance :—Latimer, having been foolishly pressed with the literal sense of some figurative expressions in the Holy Scriptures, by one Buckingham, Prior of the Black Friars, in Cambridge, looking towards the place where the Friar was seated on the next Sunday, said in his sermon,—“ When we see a fox painted in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb.” We may add, that the fox thus interpreted by Latimer was a very common device for a friar ; he is sometimes represented preaching to geese, thus including the stupidity of those who listen to him, in the same device with the craft of the obnoxious friar.

<sup>1</sup> See Neale's Westminster Abbey.



## CHAPTER XV.

PAINTING, MOSAIC, AND GLASS PAINTING, AS DECORATIONS  
OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

COLOUR UNIVERSALLY EMPLOYED.—FIRST RECORDED INTRODUCTION OF PICTURES.—AUGUSTINE, BENEDICT BISCOP, WILFRID.—S. DUNSTAN.—SKILL OF THE SAXONS IN THE DECORATIVE ARTS.—INSTANCES OF EARLY NORMAN PAINTING.—OIL PAINTING IN THE TENTH CENTURY, IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES—S. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER.—ELY CATHEDRAL.—MS. ACCOUNT OF ABBOT ISLIP'S FUNERAL.—LORD LINDSAY'S ESTIMATE OF THE MURAL PAINTINGS OF OUR CHURCHES.—SUBJECTS GENERALLY TREATED.—TWO EXAMPLES FROM OLD S. PAUL'S.—BISHOP SHERBURN'S PAINTING AT CHICHESTER.—THE PRESENT USAGE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—MOSAIC DERIVED FROM GREECE, THROUGH THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE CHURCH.—RICHARD DE WARE, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.—PRIOR CROWDEN'S CHAPEL AT ELY.—DIFFERENCE OF TREATMENT IN ROMAN AND ENGLISH MOSAIC.—PAINTED GLASS.—ITS INFLUENCE ON ARCHITECTURAL FORMS.—EARLY EXAMPLES; CANTERBURY, WINCHESTER, YORK, LUDLOW, S. NEOT'S, PETERBOROUGH, DORCHESTER, TICKHILL, WEST WICKHAM.—MEMORIAL WINDOWS.

I HAVE no intention in this chapter to enter upon the whole subject of polychromatic decorations, or upon anything that would now be referred to the house-painter or mere decorative artist. On this subject it is enough to state that paint and gold were very largely used in the decoration of churches from the earliest times; that all parts of churches, and all materials and all ornaments were coloured; that from the roof to the pavement every fine ecclesiastical edifice was gorgeous with gold and azure and vermillion; that the most severe sculpture and the sharpest and most delicate oak carving was equally overlaid with paint; and that what was meant to be natural and what was meant to be unnatural accepted the same disguise. Indeed the colouring of surfaces, in themselves more beautiful uncoloured, was in some sort demanded by the gorgeousness of everything around. The roof was of blue and gold; the walls of a painted diaper, or



of figures in rich array ; the mouldings of piers and arches were relieved with deep but rich shadows,<sup>1</sup> and lights of crimson or of gold. The tabernacle work, the seats, the rood, the loft, and the roodscreen, the several parcloes, every niche and every bracket was of gay and strongly contrasted tints ; the floor was but a little less brilliant, with its encaustic pavement ; perhaps sometimes not less brilliant, with its mosaic or burnished and enamelled brass ; through windows of ruby and topaz and sapphire and emerald, the sun poured such many-coloured beams as made the bright brighter still, and the gorgeous more exceedingly gorgeous. And on such a floor, along such an array of colour, and in such a light, moved the priests in robes of silk and fine brocade, and bawdkin and double-piled velvet, and gold and silver and precious stones, more dazzling than all, except the light of heaven that glanced from them. Amid all this the recumbent effigy, or the image of the saint, however really beautiful, might be cold and tame without colour, and an accessory, not in itself desirable, was forced upon it by circumstances. Nor may it be forgotten that the dress of sepulchral figures was generally heraldic, and so would lose a meaning if it were not emblazoned. These things, and especially and above all the taste which we have now learned to repudiate, and which really held that colour was an additional beauty even to the highest efforts of the sculptor, must plead in excuse of the excessive use of colour in the ecclesiastical decorations of the middle ages.

Now taste and circumstances are alike changed. We do not now think colour an additional beauty to really good imagery and carving. Who would paint the flowers of Grinling Gibbons, or the statues of Flaxman ? and as for attendant circumstances, some are removed without our times being consulted ; and others, even on æsthetic grounds, we would not recall.

Setting aside, therefore, mere decorative or house painting as of a lower class than we shall discuss, and the painting of statuary and carving as no longer admissible, let us at once turn

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes even the mouldings of arches were yet farther enriched than by a mere shadow ; at Higham Ferrers, for instance, there is a sepulchral recess, the hollow mouldings of which

are painted with butterflies and other insects on a dark ground. In other examples fleurs-de-lys and lions occur ; but the general effect is everywhere the same.



to the ecclesiastical use of painting, in the truly artistic sense of the terms.

We are told by the Venerable Bede, how Augustine at his first coming brought with him pictures which he used in religious processions,<sup>1</sup> and which we may fairly infer were made at other times decorations of his church. The same authority tells us how Benedict Biscop, towards the close of the seventh century adorned his church at Weremouth with pictures, of which the subjects also are enumerated.—The Blessed Virgin, and the twelve Apostles, the history of the Gospels, the visions related in the Apocalypse; but these were not painted on the walls, nor executed here, but brought from Rome, and arranged about the church, on partitions and wainscotings of wood. The pictures with which Wilfrid enriched his church of S. Andrew at Hexham, were probably painted in distemper on the walls; and if so, they were a great advance, not in the art of painting (rather perhaps the reverse,) but in the association of painting with architecture, as a means of decoration.

We may safely assume the life of Dunstan as a point from which a greater perfection in all the decorative arts may be calculated. He was himself very skilful in all fictile arts, from bell-founding to goldsmith's work; he was a great illuminator of manuscripts; and we have seen him employed in devising and drawing patterns for embroidery. Henceforward there is perhaps as frequent notice of the use of all these sources of decoration as we could expect in very unsettled times, but we shall be contented with a few examples.

Ernulf, prior of Canterbury at the end of the eleventh century, "having taken down the eastern part of the church which Lanfranc had built, erected it so much more magnificently, that nothing like it could be seen in England, either for brilliancy of its glass windows, the beauty of its marble pavement, or the *many coloured pictures* which led the wondering eyes to the very summit of the ceiling, and the chancel, which Ernulf left unfinished, was superbly completed by his successor Conrad, who

<sup>1</sup> From the use of these in the open air, I should infer that they were painted with oil. Of the use of oil in

the tenth and succeeding centuries, we have more direct evidence, as will presently appear.



decorated it with *excellent paintings* and furnished it with precious ornaments."<sup>1</sup>

From the subsequent account of the fire in this church, as related by Gervase, we find that the *ceiling also was painted*, and that *gilding* was applied as an enrichment of the furniture of the church.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of the illuminations in manuscripts and perhaps some specimens of early Norman glass, all relics of the pictorial decorations of these times have vanished : but if they kept pace at all with the best illuminations, they were not unworthy decorations of the most splendid churches. Indeed we have abundant proof that the English were not thought behind their neighbours in the ornamental arts, their jewellery being of great price, and their embroidery celebrated at a distance and highly valued even in more polished countries.<sup>3</sup>

We have scarcely arrived at times, some relics of the mural paintings of which remain, when we find two distinct kinds of painting employed : fresco, (with which we class distemper,) and oil painting. Of the use of the first from the beginning there is and can be no question : but the very early use of oil as a vehicle of colour in ecclesiastical decorations deserves some little attention.

The invention of oil painting is popularly given to John van Eyck, in 1410 ; but Theophilus in his treatise, *de diversis artibus*, which is attributed to the tenth century, gives receipts

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmsbury, and *Anglia Sacra*, quoted from Professor Willis's *Canterbury Cathedral*.

<sup>2</sup> "A gilded corona hangs in the midst of the Church." Gervase.—Willis, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> "The English were celebrated for their rich gold embroiderings. Being of needlework, wrought with threads of gold, opere Phrygionico, and thence sometimes called Aurifrisia, and Aurifrygia; of which Matthew Paris tells us this very memorable story or passage, 'that once the Pope viewing, amongst some church ornaments of the English, some curious

Aurifrisian copes, he asked where they were made, and being told in England, Truly, saith he, England is our garden of pleasure and delight : truly it hath inexhaustible treasures, and where much is, much may be taken. And being mightily taken with them, he sent his bulls to all the Abbots of the Cistercian order in England, commanding them to gather up all the best Aurifrisian copes they could meet with, and send them to him, for the better adorning of his quire; which was done accordingly, and transmitted by the merchants of London.'"—Staveley, p. 193.



for the application of pigment with oil, and there are records positively proving the existence of the art in our own country, in the thirteenth century. In the rolls of expenses in the decoration of S. Stephen's chapel, 20, 21, and 22 Edward I. (1292, 1293, and 1294,) more than a century before Van Eyck, there are items which show that oil was used in the process; while the number and wages of the painters, with the time during which they were employed, proved that their work was something more than house painting. Although therefore we have no direct evidence of the subjects of the paintings, we should infer that they were artistic decorations.<sup>1</sup>

The following extract not only establishes the use of oil, but also gives the names of some artists of that remote period.<sup>2</sup>

|                                                      | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Half a hundred of gold . . . . .                     | 0  | 1  | 8  |
| Three hundred of silver . . . . .                    | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Two pounds of tin . . . . .                          | 0  | 0  | 8  |
| One pottle of oil . . . . .                          | 0  | 0  | 5  |
| A candle . . . . .                                   | 0  | 0  | 1  |
| Master Walter's wages for a week . . . . .           | 0  | 7  | 0  |
| John of Soningdon, for six days . . . . .            | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| John of Carlisle, for the same time . . . . .        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Roger of Winchester, for the same time . . . . .     | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Thomas of Worcester, for three days . . . . .        | 0  | 1  | 3  |
| Roger de Beauchamp, for one day . . . . .            | 0  | 0  | 5  |
| Roger of Ireland, for one day . . . . .              | 0  | 0  | 5  |
| Thomas, son of Master Walter, for six days . . . . . | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Henry of Sodington, for six days . . . . .           | 0  | 1  | 3  |

<sup>1</sup> This inference is drawn in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, from which work the extracts of the rolls also are copied.

"From the colours mentioned in these rolls, such as white lead, red lead, vermillion, azure, gold and silver, it is evident that this could not have been only for house painting. On the contrary, the length of time employed, which was at least from the feast of S. Martin, (11 Nov.) in the 20th, to the week next after the feast of S. Bartholomew, (24 Aug.) in the

22nd year of the king's reign; together with the number of the painters, on an average from eleven to fourteen, makes it more probable that the paintings were not even heraldical bearings, but human figures, either portraits, or ideal representations, and historical subjects; such as were afterwards painted on the walls when the chapel was rebuilt by Edward III."—Smith's *Westminster*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the records given in Smith's *Westminster* are very interesting, but too long to be given here.



In 1330, Edward III. rebuilt the chapel thus decorated by his grandfather, and in 1350 and other subsequent years, writs were issued for procuring painters. "Of these, the earliest that has been actually found, is dated the 18th of March, 24 Edward III., 1350, and directed to all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, and all other his faithful people, as well within liberties as without, to whom the then present writing should come. It recites, that the king had appointed Hugh de S. Alban's, master of the painters assigned for the works to be done in the chapel in the palace of Westminster, to take and choose out, in such places as he should see fit, as well within liberties as without, in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, as many painters and other workmen as should be wanted for executing those works; which painters and other workmen were to be sent to the palace at Westminster, there to remain in the king's service, at his expense, so long as should be necessary; and it therefore required the before-mentioned persons to be ready to assist, counsel, and aid the said Hugh in the matters aforesaid, as often as they should have notice from him for that purpose. By another similar writ, of the same date, it appears that John Athelard was appointed to act in the same manner in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Warwick, and Leicester; and from a third writ, of the same kind and date, it is found that the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Suffolk, were, in like manner, and for the same purpose, subjected to the authority of Benedict Nightengale. On the 4th day of June, 37 Edward III. A.D. 1363, another writ of the same nature occurs, in which it is stated, that the king had appointed William de Walsyngham to collect as many painters in the city of London as would be sufficient for the works in S. Stephen's chapel, within the palace of Westminster, and to send them to the aforesaid palace, to be employed in those works, and to remain there at the king's expense, so long as should be necessary: and had authorized him to arrest, and commit to prison, all such persons as he should find opposing or thwarting him in this undertaking. It therefore commanded the persons to whom it was directed to be ready to aid, counsel, and assist the said William, in all the matters



aforesaid, as often as they should receive from him notice for that purpose.”<sup>1</sup>

The first account which we have of the workmen, thus summarily brought together, is in the rolls of expenses. We find for example:—

| IMAGES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |  |    |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----|----|----|
| Workmen.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  | £. | s. | d. |
| 13 Sept. [6 Edw. III.] Master Richard of Reading, for making two images by task-work, in gross; viz., for an image of S. Edward, and another image of S. John in the likeness of a pilgrim, which images are to be put in the front gable of the chapel . . . . . |  | 3  | 6  | 8  |
| 26 Sept. [25 Edward III.] William de Padryngton, for two images made for the chapel, by agreement made with him by the treasurer, to receive, by task-work, for each four marks . . . . .                                                                         |  | 5  | 6  | 8  |
| William de Padryngton, mason, for making twenty angels to stand in the tabernacles, by task-work, at 6s. 8d. for each image . . . . .                                                                                                                             |  | 6  | 13 | 4  |
| To the same for making a certain image, called John le Wayte, of stone found by himself, by task-work . . . . .                                                                                                                                                   |  | 1  | 6  | 8  |
| To the same William for making three kings to stand in the tabernacles of the chapel, of the king's stone, by task-work, at £2 13s. 4d. for each image . . . . .                                                                                                  |  | 8  | 0  | 0  |
| To the same William, for making two images of two serjeants-at-arms, of the king's stone, by task-work, at £4 each image . . . . .                                                                                                                                |  | 8  | 0  | 0  |
| 12th March. [26 Edward III.] John Elham, Gilbert Pokerigh, William Walsingham, three painters, painting the tabernacles and images in the chapel, six days, at 10d. a day each . . . . .                                                                          |  | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| [31 Edward III.] William Patrington, for making eleven images for the stalls, by task-work, at 8s. each image . . . . .                                                                                                                                           |  | 4  | 8  | 0  |
| Materials.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |    |    |    |
| 19 April. [6 Edw. III.] Thomas Bernak, for one long and large stone, bought to make image of . . . . .                                                                                                                                                            |  | 0  | 6  | 0  |
| 16 August. Thomas Bernak of Ryegate, stonemason, for two large stones, bought to make two images, price each 5s. 6d. . . . .                                                                                                                                      |  | 0  | 11 | 0  |
| 30 August. Walter, the smith, for two large staples and two large hooks of his own iron, weight fourscore pounds, to bear and support two large images in the front of the chapel . . . . .                                                                       |  | 0  | 10 | 0  |

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Westminster, p. 175.



|                                                                                                                                                                      | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 19 March. [26 Edw. III.] William Padryngton, for one large stone, bought at Dunstaple, for making an image of S. Stephen . . . . .                                   | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| To the same, for the carriage of the same, with two other stones, bought for the images of two serjeants-at-arms, from Dunstaple to Westminster . . . . .            | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| To William de Padryngton, for one stone, bought for an image of S. Stephen . . . . .                                                                                 | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| To the same for two stones, bought for two images of two serjeants-at-arms . . . . .                                                                                 | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| To the same William for the carriage of the two stones for the aforesaid serjeants-at-arms, from Egremond to Westminster . . . . .                                   | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| [31 Edward III.] Master Andrew for one iron stand, bought for the image of S. Stephen, in gross . . . . .                                                            | 1  | 6  | 8  |
| 12 April. John Lightgrave, for seven hundred leaves of gold, bought for the painting of the tabernacles in the chapel . . . . .                                      | 1  | 8  | 0  |
| 30 April. John Lyghgrave, for fifteen hundred leaves of gold, bought for the painting of the tabernacles and angels standing at the top of the tabernacles . . . . . | 3  | 0  | 0  |
| William Almand, for eight hundred leaves of gold, bought for the same . . . . .                                                                                      | 1  | 12 | 0  |
| 7 May. John Lightgrave, for two thousand five hundred leaves of gold, bought for the painting of the tabernacles and images . . . . .                                | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| John le Tynbeter, for half a pound of teynt, bought for painting the angels on the tabernacles . . . . .                                                             | 1  | 0  | 0  |

## Painters employed on the chapel in general.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                              |   |    |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|----|-----|
| 20 June, (25 Edw. III.) John Elham and Gilbert Pokerig, two painters, working there as well on the tablements as on the priming of the east end of the king's chapel, six days, at 10d. a day each . . . . . | 0 | 10 | 0   |
| Edward Paynel and Roger Norwich, painters, working there on the said works, five days, at 6d. a day each . . . . .                                                                                           | 0 | 5  | 0   |
| Edward Burton, painter, working with them, six days, at 5d. a day . . . . .                                                                                                                                  | 0 | 2  | 6   |
| John Leverynton working with them, five days, at 5d. a day . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 0 | 2  | 1   |
| Richard Lincoln, painter, working there, and grinding colours for the painting of the chapel, five days, at 4½d. a day . . . . .                                                                             | 0 | 1  | 10½ |
| 27 June. John Elham and Gilbert de Pokerig, painters, working there on the aforesaid works, six days, at 10d. a day . . . . .                                                                                | 0 | 10 | 0   |
| Edward Paynel, Benjamin Nightengale, and Roger Norwich, three painters, working there on the painting of the said tablement, six days, at 6d. a day . . . . .                                                | 0 | 9  | 0   |



|                                                                                                            | £. | s. | d.  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-----|
| John Levryngton and Edward Burton, two painters, working on the aforesaid works, five days, at 5d. a day . | 0  | 4  | 2   |
| Richard Lincoln, painter, grinding and tempering colours for the said painters, five days, at 4½d. a day . | 0  | 1  | 10½ |

We are next introduced to two painters who may be styled *artists*, and who designed the works which were executed by the inferior workmen.

|                                                                                                                                                                                        | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 4 July. Master Hugh de S. Alban's <sup>1</sup> and John de Coton, painters, working there on the drawing of several images in the same chapel, four days and a half at 1s. a day each. | 0  | 9  | 0  |
| 11th July. Master Hugh de S. Alban's, painter, working there on the ordination of the painting several images, two days, at 1s. a day .                                                | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| John Cotton, painter, working there on the said drawing, six days, at 1s. a day .                                                                                                      | 0  | 6  | 0  |
| 18 July. Hugh de S. Alban's, and John de Cotton, painters, working there four days, on the painting of the said chapel, at 1s. a day each .                                            | 0  | 8  | 0  |
| 25 July. Hugh de S. Alban's, painter, working there on the ordination of several images, four days, at 1s. a day .                                                                     | 0  | 4  | 0  |
| John de Cotton, working there for five days on the painting of the said chapel, at 1s. a day .                                                                                         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| 15 Aug. Master Hugh de S. Alban's, painter, working there, two days, at 1s. a day .                                                                                                    | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| John Cotton, painter, working there upon the painting of the said chapel, five days, at 1s. a day .                                                                                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |

Painters employed on particular parts.

|                                                                                                                                                                |   |    |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|----|---|
| 30 Jan. (26 Edw. III.) John Elham and Gilbert Pokerigh, painting several images in the chapel, five days, at 10d. a day each .                                 | 0 | 8  | 4 |
| 27 Feb. Hugh de S. Alban's, painter, working there, two days, on the drawing of the images in the same chapel, at the above daily wages .                      | 0 | 2  | 0 |
| 19 March. John Elham, Gilbert Pokerigh, and Wm. de Walsingham, three painters, painting images on the walls of the said chapel, six days, at 10d. a day each . | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Richard Croydon and John Palmer, doing the same there, six days, at 8d. a day each .                                                                           | 0 | 8  | 0 |
| John Werkham, and five others, painting the walls of the said chapel, six days, at 6d. a day each .                                                            | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| John Leveryngton, and three others, laying on the gold on the walls of the said chapel, six days, at 5d. a day each .                                          | 0 | 10 | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> The same person named in the writ before cited.



|                                                                                                                                                                | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 26 March. John Elham, Gilbert Pokerigh, and William de Walsyngham, three painters, painting images for the same chapel, six days, at 10d. a day each . . . . . | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| Thomas Ruddok doing the same there, six days, at 9d. a day . . . . .                                                                                           | 0  | 4  | 6  |
| John Palmere, painting the walls of the said chapel, six days, at 8d. a day . . . . .                                                                          | 0  | 4  | 0  |
| John Leveryngton, and two others, laying on the gold on the walls of the aforesaid chapel, six days, at 5d. a day each . . . . .                               | 0  | 7  | 6  |

Thus we have regular gradations of payment to the several painters, from Master Hugh de S. Alban's, and John de Coton, who work on the drawings, and on the ordination of images for 1s. a day, to the second-rate artists who paint the said images when drawn and arranged, at 9d. or 10d. a day each; the mere house painter who paints tablements and the like at 6d.; the gilder who brings little but his labour to the task at 5d.; and the grinder of colours at 4½d. a day.

The account of materials is equally minute.

|                                                                                                                                       | £. | s. | d.  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-----|
| Master Hugh de S. Alban's, for half a pound of teynt, for the painting of the said chapel . . . . .                                   | 0  | 2  | 0   |
| To the same, for one pound and a half of oker, for the same painting . . . . .                                                        | 0  | 0  | 3   |
| To the same, for two small earthen jars, to put the different colours in . . . . .                                                    | 0  | 0  | 1   |
| One pound and a half of Cynephe for the painting of the upper chapel . . . . .                                                        | 0  | 17 | 3   |
| 15 Aug. Lonyn de Bruges, for six pounds and a half of white varnish, for the painting of the said chapel, price per pound 9d. . . . . | 0  | 4  | 10½ |
| One pair of shears to cut the leaves of tyn . . . . .                                                                                 | 0  | 0  | 2   |
| 19 Sept. Nineteen flagons of painters' oil, for painting of the chapel, at 3s. 4d. per flagon . . . . .                               | 3  | 3  | 4   |
| Wm. de Hamelamsted, for one hundred and a half and two pounds of tin, for the king's works, at £1 2s. per hundred . . . . .           | 1  | 13 | 5   |
| 7 Nov. John Madefray, for one flagon of cole, for the painting of the chapel . . . . .                                                | 0  | 0  | 1   |
| 2 Jan. John Lambard, for two quatern of royal paper, for the painters' patrons <sup>1</sup> . . . . .                                 | 0  | 1  | 8   |
| One pound of cotton to lay on the gold . . . . .                                                                                      | 0  | 0  | 10  |
| One pair of scales to weigh the different painters' colours . . . . .                                                                 | 0  | 1  | 0   |
| 20 Feb. John Tynbeter, for six dozen leaves of tin, for the pryntes for the painting of the chapel . . . . .                          | 0  | 6  | 0   |

<sup>1</sup> Patterns.



|                                                                                                                                                 | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 5 March. Master Andrew the smith, for one fork of iron,<br>sharpened for the painters . . . . .                                                 | 0  | 0  | 2  |
| 19 March. John Matfray, for four pounds of oker, for the prim-<br>ing of the walls of the same chapel . . . . .                                 | 0  | 0  | 8  |
| To the same for two pounds of brun for the same . . . . .                                                                                       | 0  | 0  | 6  |
| 16 April. John Matfray, for two pounds of Vert de Grece, for<br>the painting of the same chapel . . . . .                                       | 0  | 2  | 4  |
| 22 April. John Lighgrave and William Allemant, for two<br>thousand one hundred leaves of gold, for the painting of<br>the same chapel . . . . . | 4  | 8  | 0  |
| To the same, for four hundred leaves of silver, for the painting<br>of the same chapel, at 8d. per hundred . . . . .                            | 0  | 2  | 8  |
| To the same for thread to bind the pencils and brushes of the<br>painters . . . . .                                                             | 0  | 0  | 1  |
| 4 June. Gilbert Pokerich, for one hundred and fifty-three pea-<br>cock's and swan's feathers, for the pencils of the painters                   | 0  | 0  | 3½ |
| Simon de Lenne, for one pound and a half of hogs' bristles,<br>for the brushes of the painters . . . . .                                        | 0  | 1  | 0  |
| 11 June. Gilbert Pokergh, for thread and squirrels' tails, for<br>the painters' pencils . . . . .                                               | 0  | 0  | 2  |
| Nicholas Chaunser, for fifteen ells of canvas, to cover the images<br>of the kings to be painted . . . . .                                      | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| Boatage and portorage of the said canvas and cable from Lon-<br>don to Westminster . . . . .                                                    | 0  | 0  | 3  |

This roll of materials, besides the principal fact that oil was used as a vehicle, proves also that all the preparations for the work, even the making of brushes, was a part of the limner's business; nor does the painter's catalogue of the present day afford better materials, or more certain indications of variety in the work, than the hogs' bristles, the squirrels' tails, and the feathers of certain fowls used by the painters of S. Stephen's chapel.

Their list of colouring matters however is scarcely so well furnished, but in point of brilliance of effect much would be gained by the use of three metals, gold, silver, and tin, in their metallic state, employed contrary to all modern principles in artistic, as well as in mere decorative painting.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of the chapel in which these paintings were made

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, several other pigments mentioned by Theophilus, in the work above referred to.



has been destroyed, and they have of course perished with the walls on which they were painted : but careful drawings were made by Mr. Smith, and by the Society of Antiquaries, in which their subjects, and the treatment of them are perpetuated. Besides the mere painting and gilding with which all the carving and imagery was overlaid, and which of course fell under the hand of the painters at least cost, there were several grotesques with enough of spirit and drawing to have been "ordained" by Hugh de S. Alban's, or John de Coton, and executed by the second-rate artists : and the portraits, of which there were several inscribed with their names, and the Scripture subjects were of course drawn, and it is more than probable in great part coloured, by the more considerable limners.

There is a great tendency in those who are engaged in archæological pursuits to assume the excellence of relics of mediæval art, which have been destroyed ; but if any faith is due to the drawings published by the Society of Antiquaries at the time of the discovery of these paintings,<sup>1</sup> which was also the time of their destruction, it cannot be denied that the paintings in S. Stephen's were very fine specimens of design and of execution. The portraits are almost as full of grace and dignity as the contemporary sculptures ; and one especially, which has been supposed to represent Edward III. himself, was excellent. There are besides paintings of part of the histories of Job and of Tobit, in which there is considerable force and expression, and a good deal of art in the grouping of figures.—To these were added pictures of the Adoration of the shepherds, of the Presentation of CHRIST in the Temple, and of the Adoration of the Magi. Of this last the lower part only remained, but if the rest was equal to the HOLY CHILD, and the drapery which remained of the blessed Virgin, it was a charming and an exalted composition. These subjects were all of them surrounded by figures and canopies and other architectural decorations, and were painted on rich diaper grounds.

It is not easy to decide at a glance what was the vehicle used

<sup>1</sup> This discovery is associated with a remarkable era in our national history. The paintings were discovered and destroyed during the arrangements

made for adapting the Houses of Parliament for the increased number of members at the union with Ireland in 1800.



in paintings on a wall, without the intervention of copper, wood, or canvas, which have been exposed for four or five hundred years to the changes of the atmosphere; and perhaps some paintings generally called fresco may be in oil, though most of them are almost certainly neither oil nor fresco properly so called, but distemper. But whatever the kind of painting, I fear that in descending from the rich and royal foundation of S. Stephen's to ordinary churches, where at the present day paintings are most frequently found, we are descending also to a much lower grade of art. And yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the skill of the best limners was consecrated to the service of the church. The only very high specimen of art which occurs to me at present is not purely architectural. It is however ecclesiastical in the strictest sense, and it is also rich in architectural drawing, and is in commemoration of one of the last persons whose names are honoured for their connection with architecture. The piece to which I allude is a very beautiful drawing on vellum, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, of which they have published copies, with the following description.

It consists of five compartments.

"The first contains the figure of John Islip,<sup>1</sup> Abbot of Westminster, standing under an arch, ornamented with wreaths of flowers of different kinds, interspersed with which, are scrolls having the names of various virtues, &c., inscribed on them: in each of his hands he holds a flower; one of them is slipped off, and he is in the action of slipping off the other; in allusion to his name, I—slip. Above the arch are three angels holding shields of arms; that in the centre is charged with cross keys and an annulet, that on the dexter side has the arms of Edward the Confessor, and that on the left the arms of France and England quarterly. There are also three Angels at the feet of the abbot holding shields of arms; in the cen-

<sup>1</sup> Abbot Islip was a great favourite with King Henry the Seventh, and laid the first stone of the chapel which bears his name; he superintended the building of it during that monarch's lifetime, and till its completion in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. He was himself also a great benefactor to the Abbey church, and was engaged in

finishing the west end at the time of his death. He became abbot of Westminster in the year 1500, and died on the 12th of May, 1522, in the twenty-third year of King Henry VIII. On the 16th of the same month he was buried in the chapel dedicated to S. Erasmus, which he had founded, in Westminster Abbey.



tral one under a mitre is the personal coat of the abbot, ermine, a fess between three rats passant gules; that on the dexter side, is charged with a fess engrailed between three crosses patee fitché, and on the sinister side are the arms of the abbey, azure on a chief indented or, a pastoral staff in the centre and a mitre in the sinister corner gules. A scroll over the head of the abbot is thus inscribed, 'Johannes Islype nuper abbas Westmonasterii;' and under his feet is the following inscription:

'Inqvire pacem et persequere eam.'

"The second compartment exhibits the abbot on his death-bed surrounded by a group of figures; among which may be distinguished S. Peter, S. John the Baptist, S. Giles, S. Katherine, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Margaret and the Virgin Mary, who is praying to our SAVIOUR in the following words, 'Yslip o fili veniens miserere johanni.' On each side of the bed are priests performing the last offices for the dying abbot. At the corners of this compartment are symbols of the four Evangelists.

"In the third compartment appears the abbot's coffin in the choir before the high altar, under a magnificent canopy, on the upper part of which are a great number of branches of tapers, surrounded by men in gowns and hoods bearing long torches; on the corners are four, bearing banners of saints; at one end of the coffin appear three of the mourners.

"The fourth compartment represents the outside of S. Erasmus's chapel in Westminster Abbey, founded by Abbot Islyp, on the north side of the north aisle of the choir. The window between the chapel and the aisle is here removed, in order to show the inside, where the monument of the abbot is seen, being in the form of a table, under which lies his *effigies*.<sup>1</sup> Over the altar in the chapel are figures of the crucifixion, &c., and within an arch over the chapel is a representation of the last judgment, the crucifixion, and symbols of the passion.

"The last compartment contains a large initial letter, being an U, richly ornamented, and filled up with a north-west view of the nave and transept of the Abbey Church at Westminster; part of the church being laid open exhibits the coronation of King Henry the Eighth. The work which was carrying on at the west end of the Abbey at the time of Abbot Islyp's death is here also indicated, and the lanthorn which he had intended to build over the middle of the cross. Over the roof of the church appears a Bishop attended by a group of angels, exorcising the building and driving away the evil spirits."

In addition to this bare description I must offer one or two remarks on each compartment.

<sup>1</sup> The only part now remaining of this monument, is the table, which is of marble supported by four slender pillars of brass.



Although the conceit in the first appears frigid,<sup>1</sup> yet the figure of the Abbot is full of dignity: the drawing and drapery are perfect. It is evidently a portrait. The second is a magnificent composition, and the drawing is very fine. The dying Abbot is the centre of the group; yet prayer is so plainly written everywhere that all is drawn upwards to The LORD represented in His glory above. Four priests kneeling at a litany desk and two angels also kneeling, form the foreground. The glorified saints, who are so soon to receive an accession to their number, surround him with encouragements and intercessions. S. Peter supports his head; a mitred saint holds the crucifix before him: the Blessed Virgin standing on the foot of the bed alone utters the prayer in which all may be supposed to join. Two priests behind, with faces full of sorrow, prepare for the extreme unction:—a hideous figure leaving the chamber with an expression of disappointed malice, represents the adversary

<sup>1</sup> Frigid, that is, as an allusion to the name, but not as an allusion to the virtues of the deceased abbot:—a poor pun but a good apologue.

Indeed it is not improbable that this drawing would afford some hints towards a more minute account of the fashionable system of symbolical representations of the time. The several virtues, each inscribed on a flowering branch, among which Islip is standing, doubtless indicate the graces which he cultivated; and the act of slipping off two branches not only gives an allusion to his name, but indicates the two virtues, charity and piety, in which he was most advanced. The flowers it may be observed are drawn from nature, and as in some instances they are clearly appropriated to the virtues with which they are inscribed, we may suppose that they are so in others, or perhaps in all. They are as follows, so far as I can recognize the flowers.

SAPIENCIA.—Cornflower. *Centaurea cyanus*.

INTELLECTUS.—The seed of the lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*) with allusion perhaps to the wisdom of Solomon and the text Matt. vi. 28.

CONSILIUM.—The nasturtium?

PIETAS.—The lily. This well-established ecclesiastical emblem needs no comment.

FORTITUDO.—Perhaps the honeysuckle.

SCIENTIA.—Perhaps the iris.

TIMOR DOMINI.—The columbine, for its bowed head?

CONSTANCIA.—The pink *Dianthus*.

TEMPERANCIA.—The corn marigold. *Chrysanthemum segetum*.

CHARITAS } These flowers I cannot  
JUSTICIA } recognize.

SPES.—The heartsease, a very old adaptation of a flower made symbolical by common consent.

PRUDENCIA.—The daisy.

FIDES.—The wall-flower, *Cheiranthus fruticulosus*. Is this emblematic of faith on account of its rooting itself in the rock?



watching, but hopelessly watching the departure of the soul. The whole is a glorious embodying of the article of the Creed, "I BELIEVE THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS." The third compartment has less merit than any of the others, but it is curious, architecturally speaking, for its correct delineation of the part of the Abbey before the high altar,<sup>1</sup> and for the representation of the rood-loft with its several figures. In this instance a cherub at either side is added to the figures of the Blessed Virgin, and of S. John.<sup>2</sup> The fourth deserves still greater praise as an architectural drawing, in which even the details of the building are given with much accuracy. The last is curious chiefly for the representation of the consecration of the church, under the same figure that we find even in Saxon illuminations, the devil fleeing away as the Bishop exorcises. There is also a wheel and a crane on the west towers, alluding to the then unfinished state of that part of the fabric, and promising its completion: a little incident which may call to remembrance the crane so long remaining, and at length not without better auspices, on the unfinished Cathedral of Cologne. Well would it have been if drawings of Westminster Abbey, as of Cologne, according to its original plan had existed; or if Sir Christopher Wren had had the modesty to imitate instead of disfigure.

But if these splendid drawings be taken as indicating in any degree the spirit and the execution of the best specimens of art just before the Reformation, I fear it must be confessed that in most cases the distemper paintings were sufficiently rude.

Lord Lindsay however speaks in high terms of some of the designs in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, at Stratford-upon-Avon; "executed towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, and of which coloured engravings were published some years ago, now of the more value, as the originals (familiar probably to Shakspeare's youth,) have been twice whitewashed within the present century. The paintings of the chancel must have been ineffably hideous, but the murder of S. Thomas à

<sup>1</sup> In general in drawings of buildings the style of the day in which the drawing was made is adopted; in this case the Abbey has its true Early English character.

<sup>2</sup> So also in the Cathedral of Canterbury, as it was restored by Lanfranc, and described by Gervase. See Willis' *Canterbury*, p. 37.



Becket and S. George's conquest of the dragon in the nave, evidently by a different artist, seem to have possessed much comparative merit. The latter is designed with much spirit, and is quite a study of chivalric action and costume; the horse fights as well as the rider, and pierces the dragon with the pike on his brow like an unicorn; the sword of the knight, descending on the monster at the same moment, will cut the deeper from the weight of the iron apple loosened by the concussion, and rushing from the hilt to the point, while the spike usually fastened to the crupper of the saddle to prevent an opponent leaping up and attacking him behind, here projects at right angles, like a boss, from a sort of target or disk affixed to the nether extremity of his person."<sup>1</sup>

The subjects generally chosen for the decoration of the walls of churches were single figures of saints,<sup>2</sup> especially of the patron saint of the church, and of S. Christopher, on the door; the great Doom,<sup>3</sup> over the chancel-arch, or the tower arch

<sup>1</sup> "See the volume entitled '*Ancient, Allegorical, Historical, and Legendary Paintings in Fresco, discovered in the summer of 1804, on the walls of the chapel of the Trinity, belonging to the Gilde of the Holy Cross, at Stratford-upon-Avon, &c., from drawings made at the time of their discovery by Thomas Fisher*,' London: fol. 1838. The chapel was built by Sir Hugh Clopton, of the ancient family whose Gothic tombs may be seen in the old parish church of Stratford-upon-Avon."—*Sketches of Christian Art*, vol. iii. p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> The subject of the emblematical distinctions of the several saints is too long to touch here, but of their early introduction I may mention two slight illustrations. It is sometimes said that the Christians had their evangelical symbols from heathenism. Mr. Hope, if I remember right, traces each to its supposed heathen origin; but Gildas calls Ezekiel "the beholder of the four evangelical creatures" (61). And with reference to

the conventional differences in other saints, Bede relates that during a great pestilence, (A.D. 681,) SS. Peter and Paul appeared to a Saxon youth then near his death, in the monastery of Selsea. The boy described them thus. "Their habit was noble, and their countenances most pleasant and beautiful, such as I had never seen before, nor did I think there could be any men so graceful and comely. One of them was shorn like a clerk, the other had a long beard."—*Ecc. Hist.* iv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> This subject is treated sometimes emblematically, sometimes historically. At Preston church, Sussex, is a picture of the Judgment, represented by S. Michael weighing the soul of a sinner against his fleshly lusts, represented by a boar's head in the opposite scale. By the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, the soul preponderates. At Trinity church, Coventry, the great Doom is represented historically, the good and bad standing before the throne of the Judge: it is perhaps the finest fresco remaining in the kingdom.



of a cross church ; and passages in the life of our Blessed SAVIOUR, or of the Virgin Mary, in various parts of the church : even the jambs of the windows being often thus decorated. Of more extensive subjects, I shall cite two examples in old S. Paul's Cathedral.

Roger de Waltham, towards the close of the reign of Edward II.,

“founded a certain oratory on the south side of the quire in this cathedral; towards the upper end thereof; to the honour of GOD, our Lady, Saint Laurence, and All Saints; and adorned it with the images of our Blessed SAVIOUR, Saint John Baptist, Saint Laurence and S. Mary Magdalen; so likewise with the pictures of the Celestial Hierarchy, the Joys of the blessed Virgin, and others; both in the roof, about the altar, and other places within and without: and lastly, in the south wall opposite to the said oratory, erected a glorious tabernacle, which contained the image of the said blessed Virgin, sitting as it were in childbed; as also of our SAVIOUR in swaddling clothes, lying between the ox and the ass; and Saint Joseph at her feet: above which was another image of her, standing, with the Child in her arms. And on the beam, thwarting from the upper end of the oratory to the before-specified childbed, placed the crowned images of our SAVIOUR and His Mother, sitting in one tabernacle, as also the images of Saint Katherine and Saint Margaret, Virgins and Martyrs: neither was there any part of the said oratory, or roof thereof, but he caused it to be beautified with comely pictures and images.”<sup>1</sup>

On the walls of a chapel first founded by Gilbert Becket, father to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, and rebuilt in King Henry the Fifth's time, and then dedicated to S. Anne and S. Thomas of Canterbury, “was richly pourtraied the Dance of Death, (viz. the picture of death leading away all estates,) at the charge of Jenkyn Carpenter, a citizen of London in those days, (in imitation of that in the cloyster adjoyning to Saint Innocent's churchyard in Paris,) with English verses to explaine the painting, translated out of French by John Lydgate, a monke of Saint Edmund's-bury, one of our famous old poets.”<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the painting executed at the cost of Bishop Sherburne, in the transept of Chichester, may represent, as well as any the last expiring effort of the art, and its subsequent fate.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's History of S. Paul's Cathedral.

tion alone was of eighty-five stanzas of eight lines each.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that the inscrip-



“The side walls of this portion of the transept were embellished in 1519, at the expense of Bishop Sherburne, in a very extraordinary manner. He employed a Flemish artist to paint two large pictures upon oak panel, the subjects of which are two principal epochs in the history of the see, viz. the foundation of it at Selsey, by Ceadwalla, and the establishment of four prebends by himself. To these paintings have been added a series of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester, and of the kings of England. In their original state the two first-named paintings had great merit, considering the time in which they were executed; but having been much injured by the parliament soldiers, their restoration was intrusted by Bishop Mawson to an inferior artist, which has been destructive of all their original merit, except the mere outline and design.”<sup>1</sup>

The revival of the use of mural painting has now become a part of the history of the art, and it would be affectation or carelessness not to advert to it. Indeed, it induced us to commence the subject as a practical one, and now leads us to add some remarks on the subject in the same tone. If we speak as advocating the use of paintings (as we shall do, within certain limits), we are met by what seems to some an objection against them, from the very fact of their having been used before the Reformation: an objection which I need not say would tell just as strongly against every visible thing or service that we still possess in the Church of England,—the Communion service and the setting up of the royal arms excepted,—which last, however, has no authority. The question really is, whether it was one of the *bad* things in use before the Reformation; and this is nowhere decided in form, though in spirit I think it is fully determined by very high authorities. If there is a body of men which, now that Convocation is silenced, more than any other represents the authoritative voice of the Church, I presume it is the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which contains on its lists the Queen’s most excellent Majesty, the two Archbishops, and every Bishop in the Church of England. Now this society sanctions, by its publications, the use of pictures of Scripture subjects. I do not consider myself charged with the defence of this practice, and indeed I confess a dislike

<sup>1</sup> Winkles’ Cathedrals.



to all pictures which include a representation of our Blessed LORD, Whom as GODMAN (*i. e.* in the very same nature in which He is represented) we worship, so that I think they are contrary to the decree of the council of Eliberis<sup>1</sup> in 305, which forbade mural paintings, lest that be represented which is worshipped or adored.<sup>2</sup>

The usage of our Church, too, has ever been in harmony with this judgment. Emblematical figures, as of Faith, Hope, and Charity, of Time with his scythe and hour-glass, seem to be nowhere objected to—that is, not on ecclesiastical grounds. Moses and Aaron are always admitted to hold the two tables of Commandments. Altar-pieces are found in many, if not most of our fine churches; and by way of *memoria technica*, to fix the time at which such things have been done, Sir William Thornhill painted the dome of S. Paul's; Hogarth painted three pictures, which now surround the altar of S. Mary Redcliff, Bristol; West painted the altar-piece of Winchester Cathedral; an ancient picture has been placed in the new parish church in Leeds; and a promising native artist has given a large painting, which is suspended over the altar of S. George's church in the same place. It cannot, therefore, be contrary to the spirit, to the usage, or to the authorities of our Church to employ pictures for church decoration. And this use of paintings is very greatly to be desired, even for seemliness, in the restoration of old churches. Except in churches of the highest order, the walls are commonly

<sup>1</sup> This, however, was not a general council.

<sup>2</sup> *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.*—The fear of the greater profanation of worshipping *the picture itself* had not yet occurred as a reason against pictures. The decree of the council of Trullus, held in 683, and to this day received as general by the Greek Church, goes on a very different principle. “Whereas among the venerable pictures, the Lamb is represented as pointed at by the finger of His Forerunner [John the Baptist],

which is only a symbol, or shadow: we, having due regard to the Type, but preferring the Anti-type, determine that He be for the future described more perfectly, and that the portraiture of a Man be made instead of the old Lamb: that by this we may be reminded of His Incarnation, Life, and Death.” Bingham supposes that “by this time the worship of images was begun, anno 692; and it was now thought indecent to pay their devotions to the picture of a lamb, and therefore they would no longer endure it to be seen in the church.”



of rubble, and must have some coating. Whitewash, and all the forms of lime and ochre are cold or dull. Plaister without lines in imitation of masonry is too uniform, and with lines it is offensive, because it is evidently sham. The use of paintings occurs then to fill up the void, which there can be no manner of question it would do with the best effect, if it were judiciously employed.

Now for subjects, I should suggest such parts of the sacred history of the Old Testament and of the New, as do not involve an attempt at representing the first Person in the ever blessed Trinity at all, or the second and third Persons except in the way of symbol.<sup>1</sup>

The best models in composition would, I think, be the drawings published by the Chancellor of Salisbury, from the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican. The best mode of painting in almost every case, would be distemper, and the best style of colouring a warm but subdued tone, chiefly produced by the several preparations of ochre, and the positive colours of the lightest tint. I speak of course only for such small churches as would scarcely demand the exertions of the highest artists, who would be trusted to use oil or fresco at their discretion, and to employ their own styles of colouring; but if these only were employed, the cost would be beyond the reach of most benefactors of churches, and it is certain that the state of the arts at present is such that there are many "decorative artists," who would be abundantly qualified with a little practice in the merely technical part of the process to adorn the walls of our churches in distemper, after copies which might be provided for them. Mr. Hendrie in his appendix to the first book of Theophilus in his valuable translation, has transcribed from M. Didron an account of observations which he made, and conversations which he held with

<sup>1</sup> "In all ancient history we never meet with any one instance of picturing GOD the FATHER, because it was supposed He never appeared in any visible shape, but only by a voice from heaven. Upon this account Paulinus, where he describes a symbolical representation of the Three Divine Per-

sons, made in the painting of a church, makes a lamb to be the symbol of CHRIST, and a dove the symbol of the HOLY GHOST, but for GOD the FATHER, nothing but a voice from heaven."—Bingham's Ecclesiastical Antiquities, VIII. viii. 10.



Father Joasaph, one of the best painters of Mount Athos, which show that the processes of the present day where distemper is used, are the same as they were in the middle ages; and which has the yet farther value of proving how easily practicable the mural decoration of churches might still be, at a comparatively small cost.

However different in the materials employed, *Mosaic* must be classed with *painting* as a means of decoration, and as such it is far more exclusively devoted to architectural purposes. Mosaic was employed among the Greeks, and had been borrowed from them by the Romans before the Christian era; and wherever the Romans formed colonies they brought with them this method of adorning their baths and villas. We have in England many specimens of their art, and some of them of considerable beauty. These are, however, all of them purely secular. The question at present is of the Christian and ecclesiastical use of mosaic: and here we find that whether they were removed thither from Pagan temples, or from some secular buildings, or whether they were constructed for the purpose, the dome of the church of S. Constantia in the Via Nomentana, at Rome, was adorned by Constantine with pictures in mosaic. When, therefore, the invention of this art is attributed to Giotto, who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the most that can be understood is that he revived, or greatly extended its use.<sup>1</sup>

In England the principle of mosaic was doubtless applied to pavements long before the time of Giotto: indeed the arrangement of encaustic, or otherwise coloured tiles and stones, in various patterns, however simple, must, in strictness, be classed with mosaic; and so we must consider the floors at Fountains, in which black and white tesserae are arranged in the least complicated of geometric forms, and the more elaborate figures upon the floor of Prior Crowden's chapel at Ely,<sup>2</sup> as essentially of the same class. We owe, however, the introduction of the more costly and elaborate character of mosaic to the visit of an Abbot of Westminster to Rome, at the time this style of decoration had acquired renewed favour. Richard de Ware, elected Abbot

<sup>1</sup> See a paper on mosaic pavements, by Mr. Gough, *Archæologia*, Vol. X.

<sup>2</sup> Both are figured in Fowler's splendid engravings of mosaic pavements.



in 1260, went to the papal city for consecration, where, among other artists, he found Pietro Cavallini engaged in the manufacture of mosaic. On his return he brought with him rich porphyry and other precious stones,<sup>1</sup> for the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in his Abbey church, and for the pavement before the high altar. He also brought over fit artists for the work, and possibly Pietro among the rest, who would be employed also in the designing and making the tomb of Henry III. The tomb of this monarch and the shrine of the Confessor, are in the same style both of design and execution. Gorgeous as they are, they harmonise very ill with the splendid Minster, beneath the fretted roof of which they are placed; the design being cinque cento, if the solecism of expression may be pardoned, in speaking of a work of the thirteenth century. The name of one Odorick (also in all probability an Italian) appears, as we shall presently find, as the artificer of the mosaic before the high altar in the same church.<sup>2</sup> But ecclesiastical art in England owes but little to the Italian names which figure in its history.

The costliness of these mosaics consisted in the value of the materials, as well as in the art and labour which were lavished

<sup>1</sup> Richard de Ware died treasurer of England in 1283, and was buried on the north side of the altar, with this epitaph,

“ Abbas Richardus de Ware, qui requiescit hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab urbe.”

<sup>2</sup> The old inscription on the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, was

“ Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno

Et bis centeno, cum completo quaideno,

Hoc opus est factum, quod *Petrus duxit in actum*

*Romanus civis*. Homo, causam noscere si vis,

Rex fuit Henricus sancti præsents amicus.”

The words *Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis* remained in 1741. They ascribe the work to the before men-

tioned Pietro Cavallini, who died at Rome in 1364, aged eighty-five.

Camden in his notices of the kings buried in Westminster Abbey, thus notices the tomb of Henry III. who died in 1272.

“ Westmon. (invitis Templariis, qui corpus regium vendicabant) magnifico et sublimi sepulchro, quod Rex Edwardus filius jaspidibus, ophiticis, &c. quæ e Gallia attulerat, plurimum oneravit, ad boreale latus capellæ requiescit cum his inscriptionibus :

‘ Tertius Henricus jacet hic, pietatis amicus,

Ecclesiam stravit istam, quam post renovavit.

Reddet ei munus qui regnat trinus et unus.’

‘ Tertius Henricus est templi conditor hujus. 1273.

Dulce Bellum inexpertis.’ ”



upon them. That before the high altar is composed of porphyry, lapis lazuli, jasper, alabaster, Lydian and serpentine marbles, and touch. The figures are generally geometrical,—circles, lozenges, triangles, squares, &c.,—and so greatly are they complicated, that in one angle there are upwards of one hundred and thirty intersecting circles, each formed by four elliptical pieces, including a square. Many of the pieces are not more than half an inch square, and the largest is not more than four inches, except the central planes of porphyry, and a few other pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Although it is far less costly, yet there is much more to admire when it is considered in its connection with the forms and spirit of Gothic art, in the mosaic in the Prior's Chapel at Ely. The chapel is the work of Alan of Walsingham; and as this remark-

<sup>1</sup> All these complicated figures were not, it should seem, without a mystical meaning, though it would be hazardous to adopt the interpretation here copied from Widmore's History of Westminster Abbey.

"The design of the figures," says Widmore, that were in this pavement, "was to represent the time the world was to last, or that the *Primum Mobile*, according to the Ptolemaic system, was going about, and was given in some verses, formerly to be read on the pavement, relating to those figures :

' Si Lector posita prudenter cuncta  
revolvat,

Hic finem primi mobilis inveniet.

Sepes trina, canes et equos, homines-  
que subaddas,

Cervos et corvos, aquilas, immania  
cete,

Mundum; quodque sequens pereuntes  
triplicat annos.

Sphæricus archetypum, globus hic  
monstrat Microcosmum.

Christi milleno, bis centeno, duodeno  
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor,  
anno,

Tertius Henricus Rex, Urbs, Odoricus,  
et Abbas,

Hos compegere porphyreos lapides.'

"Of these, and they seem to need it," continues Widmore, "I find this explication given: 'The threefold hedge is put for three years, the time a dry hedge usually stood; a dog for three times that space, or nine years, it being taken for the time that creature usually lives; a horse in like manner for twenty-seven; a man, eighty-one; a hart, two hundred and forty-three; a raven, seven hundred and twenty-nine; an eagle, two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven; a great whale, six thousand five hundred and sixty-one: the world, nineteen thousand six hundred and eighty-three: each succeeding figure giving a term of years, imagined to be the time of their continuance, three times as much as that before it.' In the four last verses, the time when the work was performed, and the parties concerned in it, are expressed: by the rest is meant, that the King was at the charge, that the stones were purchased at Rome, that one Odorick was the master workman, and that the Abbot of Westminster (who procured the materials) had the care of the work.'



able man was, like S. Dunstan, cunning in many arts, we may presume that this mosaic was devised, made, and arranged with his own hands. The chapel is a gem of Decorated architecture; but it is so small that the mosaic, of twenty-seven feet six inches, by thirteen feet six inches, occupies the whole floor. Though the colours are faded, or rather have vanished, except in a few places, the pattern remains perfect. The general ground-work is of light circles intertwined or touching, on a dark ground; each centre of the circle, however, and each space left by the intersecting or touching diameters being relieved with a face or a flower. A narrow border of heraldic animals, lions, antelopes, and eagles, runs along the north and south sides: and a border of larger animals of the same character along the east and west ends of the floor. In the part immediately around the altar, intersecting triangles are introduced in several places, probably with some allusion to the Mystery of the TRINITY; and immediately before the altar is a group representing the Fall of Man. The serpent, with a human face, appears entwined around the tree of knowledge, and speaking to Eve, while she gathers the fruit and presents it to Adam, who is already putting an apple to his lips. This is a very frequent subject with mediæval artists, whether in stone or in colours.<sup>1</sup>

To this elaborate and highly beautiful work, several others might be added;<sup>2</sup> but I prefer tracing a general rule, to accumulating examples. There is this difference of principle between the Roman and the Gothic mosaic, that in the former the patterns are produced entirely by the arrangement of coloured tesserae, whereas in the latter<sup>3</sup> the figures are helped out with painting on the surface of the tiles, which produce the more elaborate parts; as, for instance, the heraldic animals and the faces of the figures, in Alan of Walsingham's work at Ely. The Roman method is the more strictly artistic; but the Gothic has practical advantages over it in effect, and in facility of execution.

<sup>1</sup> This splendid specimen of Mosaic may be even better, or at least more easily studied in Fowler's drawings, than in the original work itself.

<sup>2</sup> I may mention one in Trinity Chapel, Canterbury, and a little piece

before the high altar of stone at S. Mary Magdalen, Ripon.

<sup>3</sup> The mosaics of Cavallini, however, in Westminster Abbey, must be excepted, but these are hardly to be called Gothic: they are, in truth, Italian in design and execution.



From painting and mosaic we naturally proceed to painted glass, a decoration which with some advantages over both, and with some peculiar defects, partakes almost equally of the constructive character of mosaic, and of the artistic power of painting.

It is mortifying to confess that here we must for the present yield the palm to our ancestors, though there is no reason to doubt that we may ultimately more than recover all the ground that we have lost. In drawing we are unquestionably superior to the mediæval painters; the art of colouring glass, which was until lately supposed to be lost, has been perfectly revived; the texture of the glass itself still remains to be successfully adapted to the objects of the glass stainer, and then all the materials are brought together, and the same tact and skill, with careful study and labour, which have overcome other difficulties far more apparently insurmountable, may be rewarded with perfect success.

We have already observed that glass staining, which seems at first sight so entirely subsidiary and subordinate, has really produced considerable effects on ecclesiastical architecture; that this led in the first instance to the introduction of larger windows,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps suggested the greater use of parallel lines in the Perpendicular style: and since panelling and other ornaments in stone-work, and the whole character of screen-work, is directly copied from the windows of their respective styles, there is at least a reflected influence shed from painted glass upon far different materials. And though this may at first sight seem to be an exaggerated view of a subordinate influence, it is really very far short of the truth. Without painted glass, windows must have continued few and small; now architecture could never have developed such forms as those of York, or of Ely, or of King's College chapel, with few and small windows. In height, in span, in lightness; in its internal and external supports, its piers and its buttresses, a church of the first order must have been a very different thing, had painted glass never been employed, from a church of the same order at the time of Wil-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Lindsay thinks that the introduction of stained glass, but this larger size of the windows led to the is contrary to all history.



liam of Wykeham, or King Henry VII. In comparison of this the *direct* influence of painted glass as a decoration is insignificant; yet even here we must go beyond the mere beauty of the glass in itself, and take into consideration the effect of the light variously coloured, yet subdued, in enriching, and at the same time harmonizing the whole of an interior, in every part of which colour was freely used. The value of painted windows for this purpose is but too painfully felt now, by their loss.

The date may be assigned to painted glass by a careful study of its texture, its pattern, its colours, its execution, its arrangement, with as great certainty as to the windows in which it occurs; and Mr. Winston, in his valuable work lately published, has brought the history of glass painting, and the means of discriminating the different styles, as much within the reach of the ecclesiologist, as the arrangement of armour is with the help of Meyrick, or that of Gothic architecture with the aid of Rickman.

The earliest specimens of stained glass in England, scarcely ascend higher than about 1200, of which date may be some examples both at Canterbury and at York.<sup>1</sup> The general design of that at Canterbury "consists of panels of various forms, containing subjects from Holy Writ, on a ground of deep blue or ruby; the spaces between the panels are filled with rich mosaic patterns in which red and blue predominate, and the whole design is surrounded with a broad and elaborate border of leaves and scrollwork in brilliant colours."<sup>2</sup> Towards the middle of the century more use was made of mosaic devices, and of diapers, generally of flowing foliated patterns. Such figures as these often form the whole ground of a window, which is surrounded by richly coloured borders of leaves, while the centre is occupied with varied intersecting figures, as squares, triangles, and the like, in rich colours, chiefly blue and ruby. The finest Early English windows in the kingdom, those called "the five sisters" at the end of the north transept of York Minster are of this character.<sup>3</sup> In the Decorated style, figures more frequently occupy the whole

<sup>1</sup> See a paper by Mr. Winston on the stained glass of York, in the York vol. of Transactions of the Archæological Institute.

<sup>2</sup> Glossary of Architecture, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> The compartments are very well figured by Browne.



window, being represented separately in niches, or sometimes in larger groups; and heraldry is now very frequently introduced, either on shields, or on the surcoats of the figures. Quarries also, with a uniform pattern, generally a flower, sometimes form a whole window, and are often the ground to receive more elaborate subjects. Sometimes these quarries are so arranged as to form a pattern of stems and leaves running over the whole surface.

Meanwhile the painting of figures became extremely elaborate and beautiful. One of the best known examples is the great west window of York Minster, in describing which, the author of a paper published by Mr. Weale, says "the archbishops and saints which form the principal part of the design, are shaded and finished with the delicacy of an oil painting, whilst the profusion of ornaments on the dresses, requires the spectator to be on the same level, and close upon them to make it out."

But the Perpendicular glass is the most beautiful, and it grows in real beauty as the architecture with which it is associated grows in gorgeousness of effect. Mr. Winston, whose judgment is decisive on this point, declares that it was during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, that glass painting attained its highest perfection as an *art*;<sup>1</sup> and he instances the great east window of the cathedral of Winchester, which is appropriated to Bishop Fox, by his motto, "Est Deo Gloria," occurring in it, as most remarkable for the characteristic beauties of its age. "It is superior," says he, "to the other glass paintings in the fulness and arrangement of its colours, but it is less brilliant, owing to the greater depth of the shading, to which the increased roundness of the figures is owing. In point of execution, it is as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their proper limit. Deeper shadows would have produced blackness and opacity, and lighter shadows a greater degree of flatness than is necessarily inherent in a real glass painting."

But there is no place like York to study painted glass in. We have already noticed the splendid Early English glass in the "Five Sisters," and to these must be added the Decorated

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at Winchester.



glass in the nave, and the Perpendicular in the choir of the cathedral; both which were preserved, as if by miracle, in the fires which have successively destroyed these two portions of the church. There is besides a great quantity of very beautiful glass in other churches in the same city; and some of the designs in the Perpendicular churches are as remarkable as the beauty of the execution. In this latter style the figures become larger, and the group sometimes more elaborate; and now not only is a whole window sometimes occupied with a single subject, but several incidents in the same history are distributed through several windows, the story being carried on at the same time by a legend describing the subject of each window. Some remarkable examples of this are given in Chapter V. of Hierologus, especially one of the fifteen days of Judgment, in All Saints, North Street, York;—one of the history of S. Lawrence in twenty-seven compartments, in the east window of the church dedicated to that saint at Ludlow;—and the history of S. Neot, in the church of S. Neot's, Cornwall. To these may be added Gunton's account of the windows in the cloisters of Peterborough, which utterly perished, with other most valuable ecclesiastical monuments in the same church, in the great Rebellion.

“The windows were all compleat and fair, adorned with glass and excellent painting. In the south cloyster was the history of the Old Testament; in the east cloyster of the New; in the north cloyster the figures of the successive Kings from King Peada; in the west cloyster was the history from the first foundation of the monastery by King Peada, to the restoring of it by King Edgar. Every window had at the bottom the explanation of the history thus in verse:—

FIRST WINDOW.

Light 1.

“King Peada, a paynein, as writing seyth,  
'Gate yese five children of Christen feyth.”

Light 2.

“The noble King Peada, by GOD's grace,  
Was the first founder of this place.”

Light 3.

“By Queen Ermenyld, had King Wulfere,  
These twey sons that ye see here.”

Light 4.

“Wulfade rideth, as he was wont,  
Into the forest, the hart to hunt.”



SECOND WINDOW.

Light 1.

"Fro' all his men Wulfade is gone,  
And sayth himself the hart alone."

Light 2.

"The hart brought Wulfade to a well,  
That was beside Seynt Chaddy's cell."

Light 3.

"Wulfade askyd of Seynt Chad,  
Where is the hart that me hath lad?"

Light 4.

"The hart that hither thee hath brought,  
Is sent by CHRIST, that thee hath bought."

THIRD WINDOW.

Light 1.

"Wulfade prayd Chad, that ghostly leech,  
The feyth of CHRIST him for to teach."

Light 2.

"Seynt Chad teacheth Wulfade the feyth,  
And words of Baptism over him seyth."

Light 3.

"Seynt Chad devoutly to mass him dight,  
And hoseled Wulfade CHRISTY's knight."

Light 4.

"Wulfade wished Seynt Chad, that day,  
For his brother Rufine to pray."

FOURTH WINDOW.

Light 1.

"Wulfade told his brother Rufine,  
That he was christned by Chaddy's doctrine."

Light 2.

"Rufine to Wulfade said again,  
Christned also would I be fain."

Light 3.

"Wulfade, Rufine to Seynt Chad leedeth,  
And Chad with love of feyth him feedeth."

Light 4.

"Rufine is christned of Seynt Chaddys,  
And Wulfade, his brother, his godfather is."

FIFTH WINDOW.

Light 1.

"Werbode, steward to King Wulfere,  
Told that his sons christned were."

Light 2.

"Toward the chappel Wulfade 'gan goe,  
By guiding of Werbode, CHRISTY's foe."



## Light 3.

"Into the chappel entered the King,  
And found his sons worshipping."

## Light 4.

"Wulfere in woodness his sword out drew,  
And both his sons anon he slew."

## SIXTH WINDOW.

## Light 1.

"King Wulfere, with Werbode yoo,  
Burying gave his sons two."

## Light 2.

"Werbode for vengeance his own flesh tare,  
The devil him strangled, and to hell bare."

## Light 3.

"Wulfere, for sorrow, anon was sick,  
In bed he lay, a dead man like."

## Light 4.

"Seynt Ermenyld, that blessed Queen,  
Counselled Wulfere to shrive him clean."

## SEVENTH WINDOW.

## Light 1.

"Wulfere contrite, hyed him to Chad,  
As Ermenyld him counselled had."

## Light 2.

"Chad bade Wulfere, for his sin,  
Abbeys to build his realm within."

## Light 3.

"Wulfere in hast performed than,  
Brough that Peada his brother began."

## Light 4.

"Wulfere endued with high devotion,  
The Abbey of Brough with great possession."

## EIGHTH WINDOW.

## Light 1.

"The third brother, King Ethelred,  
Confirmed both his brethren's deed."

## Light 2.

"Saxulf, that here first abbot was,  
For Ankerys, at Thorney, made a place."

## Light 3.

"After came Danes, and Brough brent,  
And slew the monkys as they went."

## Light 4.

"Fourscore years and sixteen,  
Stood Brough destroyed by Danes teen."



## NINTH WINDOW.

## Light 1.

"Seynt Athelwold was bidden by GOD's lore,  
The Abbey of Brough again to restore."

## Light 2.

"Seynt Athelwold to King Edgar went,  
And prayed him to help him in his intent."

## Light 3.

"Edgar bade Athelwold the work begin,  
And him to help he would not lyn."

## Light 4.

"Thus Edgar and Athelwold restored this place :  
GOD save it and keep it for His grace."<sup>1</sup>

This may stand as an example of the higher order of historical designs in painted glass; there are besides not infrequently subjects which may be called doctrinal or mystical, as the tree of Jesse, of which one is mentioned in Hierologus at Llaurhaiadr in Kinmerch, Denbighshire, as late as 1533. The example at Dorchester in Oxfordshire is altogether unique, in principle as well as in detail, affording an example of stone and glass-work wedded together in one mystic design. The glass has been so wantonly mutilated, and so heedlessly patched that it cannot now be cited as an entire work; the stone tracery is described by Mr. Addington as a window of four lights, with intersecting tracery in the head. The centre monial represents the trunk of a tree, its branches crossing over the intermediate monial as far as the jambs. In the centre, at the base of the window, is sculptured the recumbent figure of Jesse, and from his body rises the tree. The branches are ornamented with foliage their whole length, and with a figure sculptured at each intersection of a monial; that of David occupying the lower angle on the east side. Some of them are male, some female, several are crowned, and some have wings, and all seem originally to have had their names painted on the labels, which they in general hold in their hands. On the upper part of the centre monial, representing the tree, has been apparently a figure of the SAVIOUR, and at the base of it appears to have been a figure of the

<sup>1</sup> Gunton's Peterborough, pp. 103—112.



Virgin, crowned, but both these have been wilfully mutilated. The tree terminates in a large finial formed of leaves.<sup>1</sup>

Another mystic subject is the creed, or each apostle accompanied with the article of the creed which is assigned to him by tradition; of this a fine example occurs in the south aisle of Tickhill, an early Perpendicular church. The mystery of the ever-blessed TRINITY is also a common subject, and is represented in two ways, by the "trine compass," and by a figure of the Holy FATHER supporting a crucifix, the dove descending upon the figure on the cross.<sup>2</sup> To mystical subjects may be added also the figure of S. Christopher, on account of the mystic character of the legend of that saint; and perhaps in the ancient hagiologies, we may generally look as much for significant incidents, as for such as were intended to be taken as simple relations of facts; and thus many historical subjects may be called theological or emblematic. At all events we have some exquisite compositions, and some beautiful subjects admirably treated of this class; such as for instance the magnificent S. Katherine trampling on a crowned tyrant, in West Wickham church; and in the same church a still more beautiful group, S. Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin.<sup>3</sup> This subject is treated with equal grace in the east window of All Saints' Church, North Street, York.<sup>4</sup>

To another class of painted windows attention is now happily called by its revival in the present day. Ancient memorial windows occur frequently, and though the material is so fragile, yet practically a window has been found as faithful a depository of a benefactor's name and effigy,<sup>5</sup> as either stone or brass. Windows of this kind are exceedingly various in design, but generally include in some part of them a figure (a likeness probably) of the person commemorated, with his armorial bearings, and

<sup>1</sup> Account of Abbey Church of Dorchester, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A beautiful specimen from S. John's church, Micklegate, York, is figured in the first volume of Weale's quarterly papers.

<sup>3</sup> There are others of equal beauty in this church, and several are figured in

the second volume of Weale's quarterly papers.

<sup>4</sup> Figured in Vol. I. of Weale's quarterly papers.

<sup>5</sup> The likenesses of Bishops William of Wykeham and Fox, the former especially interesting to the ecclesiologist, are thus preserved at Winchester.



the usual mortuary inscription, "Pray for the soul;"—or the like.

It is strange, too, that we have more frequent records of the donor or artist of stained glass windows, or of something connected with their insertion, than of anything else about the church, even of more essential importance, sepulchral monuments excepted.<sup>1</sup>

In Mr. Winston's paper, read at Winchester, are given very interesting figures of "the carpenter, the mason, and the clerk of the works," from the east window of Winchester College; and another, still more closely to the point, of the "glass painter," from the same window.

There is, perhaps, no single person whose name is associated with a greater number of works of this kind, than John Fosser, Prior of Durham during the episcopate of the illustrious book collector, Richard de Bury. We shall not omit some other donations of Prior John, though our present business is with the windows. "He constructed a great window of glass in the north transept of the church, over the altar of the Confessors SS. Nicholas and Giles, together with three smaller windows, appointing, with the consent of the Chapter, that he should have one mass every day for his soul, at the holy altar, by one monk, for whose payment and for the repairs of the window, and for alms on his anniversary, he appropriated certain lands and rents to the convent."<sup>2</sup>—"He caused all the missals which were less than seven years old, to be repaired by the servants and ministers. He himself beginning with a missal which lies on the altar of SS. Nicholas and Giles, for which he paid £22 of his own gift. Also he ordained, with consent of the convent, that one chantry, which is called the Trinity, should be main-

<sup>1</sup> The most useful habit of the monkish historians recording the very spot where each bishop or abbot was buried, affords very many notices of monuments.

<sup>2</sup> Hic construxit in aquilonari parte ecclesiæ crucis, ad altare Sanctorum Confessorum Nicholai et Egidii magnam fenestram vitream, cum aliis tribus fenestris minoribus et ordinati cum

consensu capituli, quod haberet futuris temporibus quolibet die pro anima sua unam missam ad divinum altare per unum monachum: pro cuius pensione et dictarum fenestrarum sustentatione et pro pitantia in die anniversarii sui facienda, conventui terras et redditus appropriavit.—Will. de Chambre, in *Anglia Sacra*, I. 767.



tained for ever at that altar, for the support of which he bought, with the Bishop's licence, lands and tenements in North Pittingdon, Ulneston, and Billingham, for which he paid £66 10s. 9d. and for the erection and repair of buildings there, £20. The form of the ordination of the said chantry is inscribed in the Martyrology, and in the beginning of the missal of the said altar. He also presented to the same altar a chalice, worth £6 13s. 4d., with three albes, and chasubles, and altar cloths, besides images of the Holy TRINITY, and of the Blessed Virgin, in alabaster, with tabernacles and other ornaments at the cost of £22. He also made a long and splendid window of six lights in the northern transept of the church, near the said altar, for which he paid £100, and for glazing, £52, and for other buildings, debts, and ornaments of the church, £402 6s. 8d., and for one window in the south end of the prior's hall, £40; making together £2076 8s. 10d. In his time also was erected a great window of seven lights, at the west end of the nave of the church, and three others on the north side of the nave, and two on the north side of the quire, by John of Tickhill, and two on the south side of the quire, through the shrine."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Postea vero idem prior fecit per obedientarios et ministratores omnia missalia infra septennium de novo reparari, ipso priore incipiente de missali quod jacet ad altare Sanctorum Nicholai et Ægidii, pro quo solvit de oblationibus suis £22. Item unam cantariam, quæ de Trinitate nominatur, de consensu conventus ordinavit in dicto altari perpetuo celebrandam. Ad cujus sustentationem terras et tenementa in Northpittingdon, Ulneston et Billingham de licentia episcopi emit, pro quibus solvit £66 10s. 9d. Et pro ædificiis ibidem factis et reparatis £20. Forma autem ordinationis dictæ cantariæ scribitur in Martirologio et in principio missalis dicti altaris. Idem prior ordinavit dicto altari unum calicem, pretium £6 13s. 4d.

una cum tribus albis et casulis et palliis altaris. Item imagines Sanctæ Trinitatis et Beatæ Virginis de alabastro, cum tabernaculis cum aliis ornamentis, pretium £22. Item fecit unam fenestram VI. luminarium, longam et sumptuosam, in boreali parte crucis dictæ ecclesiæ juxta dictum altare, pro quo solvit £100, et pro vitreatione £52. Item pro aliis ecclesiæ ædificiis, debitis et ornamentis £402 6s. 8d. Item pro una fenestra in fine australi aulæ prioris £40. Summa omnium summarum præcedentium est hæc, £2076 8s. 10d. Item in tempore suo fiebant de novo magna fenestra VII. luminarium in capite occidentali navis ecclesiæ, et III. aliæ in parte boreali parte australi chori per feretrum—Ib. 768.



## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE DECORATED PERIOD.

UNIVERSAL ADOPTION OF FLOWING AND INDIRECT LINES.—OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DECORATED STYLE.—EXETER CATHEDRAL.—YORK MINSTER.—HULL.—HEDON.—PATRINGTON.—CARLISLE.—DURHAM.—BOSTON.—GRANTHAM.—HECKINGTON.—NORBURY.—CHESTERFIELD.—FINEDON.—FREQUENT POVERTY OF EXECUTION.—STANFORD.—BRIDGE CHAPELS.—WAKEFIELD.—CHAPEL OF S. WILLIAM, YORK.—WAYSIDE CHAPEL AT HOUGHTON-IN-THE-DALE.—ELY CATHEDRAL.—FALL OF THE TOWER, AND FOUNDATION OF THE OCTAGON BY ALAN OF WALSINGHAM.—THE CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER, AND THE GENERAL EFFECT OF THIS WORK.—BISHOP HOTHAM AND THE PRESBYTERY.—THE LADY CHAPEL, JOHN OF WISBEACH.—SEQUEL OF THE LIFE OF ALAN OF WALSINGHAM.

THE architects of the period at which we have now arrived, employed the flowing line, as constantly as if they had anticipated all that Hogarth laid down on the perfection of the curve in his *Analysis of Beauty*, and all that Burke, Alison, and Uvedale Price ever asserted on the grace of undulating surfaces, in their more general expositions of the philosophy of beauty. Indeed it has been observed that the only line which actually occurs in architecture answering to the perfection of beauty in a line, as stated by Hogarth,—the spiral or the curve described by a line encircling a cone,—is the complex ogee, bending forwards as well as upwards, as it sometimes does in the head of a Decorated canopy: and it would be almost impossible to imagine any fair exposition of the principles of grace and beauty, which should not find, if it condescended to seek them, several happy illustrations from the characteristic forms of fully developed Decorated.

Still it must be confessed that beauty is here too unmixed with a severe and massive grandeur. Those who love to trace the connection between the moral character of a generation, and the development of its spirit in visible things, might half ad-



mit a question, whether the luxury and licence of a court such as that of Edward II. had not something in common with the forms which were developed by contemporary architects. The straight line, the circle, and the right angle—types, as it were, and expressions of direct, straight forward, measured, stern duty and action,—are everywhere deserted or disguised. Horizontality and perpendicularity *must* predominate in the main lines of every building; but where it is possible they are masked by more devious lines. Mouldings branch off into various irregular curves. Circles become pointed and flowing ovals, and instead of simple curves we have ogees and spirals. Crockets and finials become more undulating in their outlines: and even buttresses desert the right angle, and meet the corners of the building which they support obliquely.<sup>1</sup> In the arrangement and form of mouldings,—the minutest accessories of the several parts of a building,—the same thing occurs. Instead of the rectangular planes of the wall and soffit, the suites of mouldings take the diagonal, or chamfer plane: and angles, and parts of simple circles, are melted into undulating lines. The sterner generation that follows desiderates a more severe character in its great and enduring works, and the Perpendicular grows up under the tutorage of one of the most practical and accomplished men of business that our nation ever knew. Had William of Wykeham found the Geometrical style, he would perhaps have exerted himself to evolve its capabilities: finding the flowing Decorated, he deserted it, and erected a less beautiful, but a more perfect one in its place. On the Continent the turn of affairs was just the contrary; and we, in our insular complacency, shall perhaps admit, that national character is observable in each development. While the Perpendicular is asserting its proper dignity in the hands of Wykeham, the Flamboyant under foreign guidance wanders into mazes in comparison of which the undulations of our Decorated are sternness itself.

Having prefaced the history of this style with these general remarks on its character, I shall describe its details more minutely before I pass to particular examples.

<sup>1</sup> Of course it will not be understood that these forms and arrangements are constant in this style; but they are frequent and characteristic.



There is of course a greater aggregation of chantries and exedral buildings, within and around older fabrics ; but the general ground plan, where it is originally of Decorated date, is, if anything, more simple than in the preceding style. The western transept, or façade, independent of the internal terminations of nave and aisles, is omitted ; nor does the second transept, either at the extreme east, as at Durham, or between the great cross and the east end, as at Wells or Salisbury, occur in the same form.<sup>1</sup> There is a tendency even to sink the western towers, as at Exeter ; though the west end of York gives us the two finest in the kingdom ; and that of Lichfield (which is however very early in the style,)<sup>2</sup> has the same noble features, crowned with beautiful spires. In small churches there is no difference in the main principles of arrangement between this and the antecedent and subsequent styles ; nave and aisles, chancel, tower and south porch still forming the ordinary ground plan of the parish church.

In the interior of large churches the great difference is in the relative importance of the triforium and clerestory. In Early English, as in Norman, the triforium was a most prominent and important feature, the clerestory far less so : now the clerestory lets fall its monials and tracery over the triforium, which ceases to be a distinct feature, and becomes, to the eye, an appendage of the clerestory. This arrangement also continues to the close of Gothic art, and is to be referred to the same principle of continuousness which throws aside the bands of the shafts, and sometimes even the capitals of pillars,<sup>3</sup> and studiously leads the eye with as little break as possible from the ground to the roof. As it has been well put by Mr. Freeman in a paper read before the Oxford and Northampton Architectural Societies, the prominence of separate parts is sacrificed to the perfection of the whole.

Vaulting has become more complex, and at last the *lierne*

<sup>1</sup> With some differences both are resumed in the Perpendicular : witness the intermediate transepts not extending beyond the aisles at York, and the transeptal Lady Chapel at the east of Peterborough.

<sup>2</sup> The west end of York also was begun early.

<sup>3</sup> As at Stanford, Northamptonshire, and at Ratley, Warwickshire ; the latter figured by Mr. Bloxam.



vault<sup>1</sup> is employed, as for instance by Bishop Hotham at Ely, (1336) and at Gloucester at few years earlier.<sup>2</sup> This complexity of vaulting affords room also for greater decoration in the numerous bosses at the intersection of the groining ribs. The external roof still continues of high pitch ; but clerestories are more frequently original, and lead is generally used as a covering.

Descending to particular parts, the doorway is more simple in general form, being less frequently double ; but in the enrichment of the mouldings it is unsurpassed in any style, if both the elegance of particular parts, and the beauty of the whole effect be taken into account. Indeed nothing within the compass of architectural decoration exceeds the grace and effectiveness of the figures under canopies, or the branches of foliage, sometimes introduced in the wide and deep hollows of Decorated doorways.<sup>3</sup>

Windows still continue to form a very prominent part of the composition, as they began to do at the introduction of tracery ; and this change in the principles of composition produces parallel changes in detail. For instance, the monials, if such they could be called, of Early English windows are at first flush with the wall ; now an order of jamb-mouldings intervenes between the plane of the wall and that of the monials, enriching the window very greatly, as seen from without. It is rather a part of this change, than a consequence of it, that the glass is carried more nearly to the centre of the wall, instead of being nearly in the plane of the exterior ; that the outside and inside jambs are alike considerably splayed, though not equally ; whereas in Norman and Early English windows the interior splay is alone considerable. The effect of enriched jambs in the exterior is yet farther increased by the frequent addition of ogeed and foliated

<sup>1</sup> A groined vault in which the main ribs are connected or tied together in the midst of their course, by transverse ribs.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Willis, Winchester, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot refrain from noticing a surprisingly beautiful example in a

most retired part of a retired church, and nowhere figured that I know of,—the north door of Leamington Hastings, in Warwickshire. The west door of Cley church, Norfolk, is justly cited as a remarkably beautiful instance, in Brandon's Analysis, where it is figured. Sec. I. Decorated. Plate 39.



dripstones, often with very elegant corbel-heads, and sometimes supporting a niche above. The monials and jambs, too, are sometimes enriched with shafts, with capitals and bases, and often with the ball-flower in their hollows. The tracery is in itself highly decorative. It has now deserted the geometric forms, and branches out, in apparently arbitrary directions, into most graceful members. It is, however, of four very distinct types. (I.) The first, where the window-arch being equilateral or nearly so, acutely pointed lights are carried to the head of the arch, and the spandrels are pierced.<sup>1</sup> This form occurs only very early in the style. (II.) The second, where the several monials branch into the architrave, when there are two or more intersecting one another: these are sometimes plain,<sup>2</sup> sometimes cusped in all their spaces. (III.) The third, where the monials throw up undulating tracery bars, which intersect each other in a kind of net-work. The spaces thus formed are almost always quatrefoiled, but sometimes, as at Finedon, they are without cusps. (IV.) The fully developed flowing tracery, most characteristic of the style, and most hard to describe: here the lights in the head formed by the flowing tracery are generally pointed at their origin, and obtuse at their end, and curved round the top of one of the greater lights, or an intermediate lesser light, so as to assume a pear shape, a little curved below the round end. In Flamboyant tracery the lights are pointed at each end; to borrow a term from botany, they are lanceolate in form, instead of pear-shaped. They also make a second curve upwards, so as to have a flame-like character, which suggested the name of the style. This form very seldom occurs in England.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The lights are sometimes uncusped, as at Finedon and Acton Burnell.—Churches of Northampton, Vol. I. p. 134, and *Archæological Journal*, Dec., 1845. Sometimes they are foiled, generally five times; sometimes the heads of the lights are themselves undulated in the manner of foils, as at Long Itchington, Warwickshire, the birthplace of S. Wolstan.

<sup>2</sup> Where they have been cusped the cusps are sometimes gone; but that

they were sometimes originally plain, which has been doubted, appears not only from the hundreds of instances in which no trace of cusps appears, but from contemporary glass still remaining, with the border fitting the lines of the uncusped tracery bars.

<sup>3</sup> In late Decorated windows there are sometimes approximations to it, as in S. Mary's, Oxford, figured by Bloxam. Sometimes too a little piece of Perpendicular tracery finds its way



On the Continent it holds the same relative place with our Perpendicular.

Buttresses still increase in size and projection, and in rich examples have often finely crocketed pediments at their head, and niches in their faces; the niches here, as everywhere else, being rich and delicate.

Piers are clustered, not with free, but with attached shafts.

Mouldings are somewhat less bold than in the last style, and less effective, from their falling less in rectangular planes: they still, however, retain great beauty of form and arrangement. Two or three are considered characteristic of the style. The channelled chamfer is of the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century; as is also the hollow between the hood-mould and the arch.<sup>1</sup> The scroll moulding is generally Decorated, but appears even in Early English work, as in the tower of Hackness, near Scarborough: in the Decorated it is of extremely frequent occurrence. The decorations of mouldings run all in the hollows; these are principally the ball-flower, which, however, occurs so soon that it is sometimes Early English; and wreaths of foliage, vine, oak, or ivy, executed with a freedom almost approaching to nature. Sometimes figures under canopies occur in very wide cavettos.

The foliage of capitals, bosses, and the like, is free and natural, and encircles the member to be adorned, as with a chaplet, instead of climbing up it with naked stems, that throw out crisped leaves at their tops. The heads used as corbels and dripstone terminations are also frequently of considerable elegance and nature.

There is a method of relieving large spaces—commenced in the Early English, and not retained beyond the Decorated,—the use of diaper patterns, cut in the stone; a far more elegant decoration than the imbricated masonry of the Normans, or the panelling of the fifteenth century, though not so effective as either, because the lights and shadows are not so strong. Among the earliest examples is that of the spandrels of the

into the head of a Decorated window, as at Patrington, Yorkshire, (See Churches of Yorkshire,) and still more remarkably in the east of the

south chantry of Wadworth, in the same county.

<sup>1</sup> See both in the pier-arches of Finedon.



pier-arches in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup> The three sides of the beautiful cross at Geddington are covered with a diaper. The diaper on the tomb of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died A.D. 1323, is given in the Glossary, article "Diaper," and the same pattern occurs in the doorway of the round church of Little Maplestead. That figured by Mr. Bloxam, and given also in the title-page of Professor Willis' *Canterbury*, as part of the shrine of S. Dunstan, may be referred, from the very great resemblance between its arrangements and that of the tracery of the window in Anselm's chapel, (Willis, 114,) to the same hand; and this fixes the date to about 1336, though both the window and the diaper have an earlier aspect. In Paley's *Manual*, (p. 263,) the font of Swaton, Lincolnshire, assigned to about 1340, is given: the sides of the bason are diapered. The example from Beverley, (Glossary, plate 97,) assigned to about 1350, is the latest that occurs to me. In the next style, when facility was studied to the exclusion very often of higher art, diapers were painted, instead of sunk beneath the surface of the stone.

Such, in very general terms, are the peculiarities of the style, of which we proceed to mention a few of the more remarkable examples.

Exeter Cathedral still progresses under the successors of Bishop Quivil, and the several developments of Decorated appear in their respective works. In 1291, Archbishop Romaine laid the first stone of the nave of York Minster. As might be expected, we have in the west door and in the lower windows, geometrical tracery; but in the upper portions of the noble west front the most exuberant forms of flowing tracery run with a magic beauty and harmony over buttresses, pediments, canopies, panelling, crocketing, finials, and parapets; and the great west window of eight lights, with the pediment by which it is surmounted, is perhaps the most elaborately gorgeous system of masonry in the kingdom. The towers flanking this splendid

<sup>1</sup> See Neale's *Westminster Abbey*; also Glossary, article "Early English." The fretted reticulation thrown over the surface of the walls on the south of the passage to the crypt from the mar-

tyrdom at Canterbury, and also over the front of the Chapter-house at Rochester, both the work of Ernulf, (about 1150,) is hardly to be called diaper. See Willis' *Canterbury*, p. 87.



façade are in their upper portion still more recent, but being early in the next style, and retaining the ogee over the windows, they harmonize sufficiently with the rest of the elevation.

There are besides one or two little memorials of architectural history upon this front not to be omitted. Over the central doorway is the figure of an archbishop, probably Romaine, the founder of this part of the Minster; and on either side are two figures representing two great benefactors to the church. On the right side is Robert de Vavasour, and on the left Robert de Percy; they hold, the one a piece of rough, the other a piece of wrought stone, indicating their grants of quarries and of right of way to the fabric.

In the interior it will be sufficient to remark that on a comparison of the Decorated nave with the Early English transepts, the loss of the triforium as a distinct feature becomes very obvious: the composition of the clerestory windows continued downwards forming the ornamental face of the triforium next the nave.<sup>1</sup> This is one of those great changes in the general arrangement of churches which were continually taking place from the Saxon to the Tudor period, and which are really more important than minute matters of form and detail, on which more stress is generally laid by ecclesiologists. A comparison of the sections of the pillars with those of the Early English transept, and the Perpendicular choir is very instructive. The general outline of all is very similar, so much so indeed as to be clearly intended to convey the same impression to the eye; but, on examination, the shafts which are engaged in the nave, are found to be detached in the transepts, and to alternate with a deep cavetto in the choir.

In the same county with York, among other fine examples, are the church of the Holy Trinity, Hull, remarkable among other things, for the use of brick in the noble choir; and the neighbouring churches of Hedon and Patrington, popularly called, in distinctive commendation of the beauty of each, the King and Queen of Holderness. Proceeding northward, Car-

<sup>1</sup> A less marked example, because rather earlier, may be studied also in contrast with the Early English arcade, in a compartment of the nave of

Exeter, drawn on the same plate with one of the nave of Salisbury, in the Companion to the Glossary of Architecture.



lisle has at the east end of the choir, the largest and most splendid Decorated window in England;<sup>1</sup> and at the west end of Durham, the beautiful Decorated window of seven lights has replaced the original Norman windows. Nor shall we, perhaps, find a better occasion to observe that Norman and Early English windows are often filled with the tracery of the flowing Decorated; never, so far as I know, with Geometric, and not very frequently with Perpendicular tracery.

The magnificent churches of Lincolnshire are, many of them, of the fourteenth century, and all the varieties of Decorated tracery may be studied in their windows. Boston and Grantham are both abundantly celebrated; but Heckington is one of the most beautiful and perfect models in the kingdom of a Decorated church, "having," (I use the words of Rickman, whose account of this church I borrow almost entire,)

"with one exception, (that of the groining or interior ceiling which is wanting, and appears never to have been prepared for,) every feature of a fine church, of one uniform style, without any admixture of earlier or later work. The plan of the church is a west tower and spire, nave and aisles, spacious transepts, and a large chancel, with a vestry attached to the north side. The nave has a well-proportioned clerestory. There is a south porch, a rich font, the tomb of an ecclesiastic under a low arch in the chancel, and an Easter sepulchre. On the south side of the chancel, under a window, is a very rich water-drain, and in the wall three stone stalls. The vestry has a crypt below it, and a water-drain in the wall above. Every part of the design and execution is of the very best character. The church is rich, rather from its composition, than from minute or profusely scattered ornament, and the outline at a distance is peculiarly fine. The south side of the church is more enriched than the north, and the chancel more so than the nave. The tower and spire are very lofty, and the four pinnacles which crown the tower are large and pentagonal: this unusual shape has, at less cost, an effect fully equal to an octagon, and the pinnacles are without crockets, but have rich finials; the spire is plain, with three tiers of windows on the alternate sides. The whole arrangement of

<sup>1</sup> This is figured by Mr. Sharpe, in his series of Decorated Windows.

"The dimensions are,—

|                              | feet | in. |
|------------------------------|------|-----|
| Height to spring . . . . .   | 28   | 2   |
| Total height . . . . .       | 59   | 6   |
| Width of side lights . . . . | 2    | 3   |

|  | feet | in. |
|--|------|-----|
|--|------|-----|

|                            |   |    |
|----------------------------|---|----|
| Width of centre lights . . | 2 | 10 |
|----------------------------|---|----|

|                       |    |   |
|-----------------------|----|---|
| Total width . . . . . | 33 | 0 |
|-----------------------|----|---|

The trefoils and quatrefoils with which the window head is pierced, amount in number to no less than forty-five."



this steeple is peculiarly calculated for effect at a distance. The whole of the windows of the church are fine and much varied, and the east window of seven lights is one of the most splendid in the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The south porch, and all the buttresses of the south side, have very fine niches, some of them with double canopies. At the east end of the nave, and at the east end of the chancel, are large rich pinnacles; but the buttresses generally finish with canopies below the parapet. The chancel buttresses are richer, and the parapet is pierced; the chancel-door, a small one on the south side, has rich mouldings and a plain ogee canopy, with a rich finial, and the window is slightly encroached upon by this door. The arch into the porch, and the south door of the church, have very fine mouldings with shafts; the north door is plainer, and has no porch. In the interior, the first object worthy of notice is the font,—a hexagon with very rich niches, but sadly mutilated and painted; the design and execution both excellent. In the nave, the piers and arches are plain, but with very good mouldings: one window on the south side is filled with ancient stained glass, of a character so excellent as to make it much to be regretted that more has not been preserved. The sepulchre, of which there are not many specimens now remaining, consists of a series of richly ornamented niches, the largest of which represents the tomb, having angels standing beside it: the side niches have the Marys and other appropriate figures, and in the lower niches are the Roman soldiers reposing; these niches have rich canopies, and are separated by buttresses and rich finials, having all the spaces covered by very rich foliage. The various small ornaments about these stalls and niches form one of the best possible studies for enrichments of this date, and it is almost peculiar to this church, that there is nothing about it (except what is quite modern,) that is not of the same style and character."

In Derbyshire we have the fine chancel of Norbury church, with large windows in which much of the original glass remains,<sup>2</sup> and Chesterfield, familiar to every one who has but once seen it though at a distance, for its distorted spire, but far more truly remarkable for its fine proportions and details.<sup>3</sup>

In Northamptonshire, besides several other examples, we have the noble cross church of Finedon, with its lofty west tower and spire, and fine porch and parvise; an example, the whole of which is to be referred to the Decorated period, and,

<sup>1</sup> The east window of Heckington is figured by Mr. Sharpe.

<sup>2</sup> Rickman.

<sup>3</sup> This church has been admirably restored and refitted, a work com-

menced by the present munificent rector in a spirit which would avert all severity of criticism, even if the success with which it has been carried through were less complete.



with the exception of the tower and spire, which are later, to one date.<sup>1</sup>

Of smaller and less important churches, the number in this style throughout the kingdom is quite beyond calculation. There seems to have been more done in church building during the reigns of Edward II. and III., than during any other period of the same duration, or at least more has remained to testify of the zeal of the church builders of those days. But although beauty of form is inseparable from this style, it would be vain to look in all ordinary cases for perfect execution; indeed there is no period of Gothic architecture in which there is often so little proportion between the beauty of forms and designs, and the poverty of details. In the preceding or succeeding style, a window with a fine elevation is sure to have corresponding beauty and richness of mouldings, and a proportionately elaborate finish; but here we have often the plan of a beautiful window, with the most meagre, and even clumsy details: nor is the proportion between the windows and the size of the church universally maintained. A small village church may sometimes be pierced with windows, which might have been borrowed from a neighbouring minster. There is moreover, as much of what we might call slovenly work in the smaller churches of this period, as in all others put together. But in one thing, the Decorated style is perhaps unrivalled, and a very important one it is, the good useful proportions of its parish churches, which renders them admirable models for the present day. I cannot refrain from mentioning one from the immediate neighbourhood in which I write, as a most excellent example, though so many others are nearly equal to it in this respect, that unless there were some other interest attached to it I should pass it over.

This is the little church of Stanford, on the borders of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, which consists of nave and aisles, chancel, west tower, and south porch; the most ordinary and nearly the most simple form of a parish church. The chancel is of good but moderate proportions, the whole area of nave and aisles is nearly a square, and the pillars being slight, the

<sup>1</sup> This church is an absolute model for a large parish church. It is described in the "Churches of the Arch-deaconry of Northampton."



space is well adapted to the purposes of congregational worship. Two types of windows only are introduced, and these are repeated in the several parts of the church, and intermingled, the reticulated and the uncusped intersecting tracery. The work is every where good, but the beauty both of exterior and interior is due far more to proportion and to harmony of arrangement than to ornamental detail. In the windows a very large part of the original glass remains, and tradition tells us that we are indebted for its preservation to the zeal of the servants of the neighbouring mansion, who rushed out armed with clubs, and such weapons as they could command, and beat off a party of Cromwell's soldiery, who would have stabled their horses there, after the battle of Naseby, and amused themselves with the wanton destruction of every thing beautiful throughout the fabric and its decorations.

Among the most interesting memorials of the religious habits of our forefathers are the chapels which they consecrated to the offices of devotion by the wayside, especially near to large towns, and yet more especially on the bridges which crossed the rivers, on which places of great resort were situated.

One of the most beautiful of these chapels remains,—that on Wakefield Bridge, and its origin is to be referred to this period. The west front of this chapel is as rich in its kind as any specimen even of the Tudor period. There is not a single square foot of masonry above the basement moulding, without its appropriate enrichment. Its general design is of two stages, the first of five recessed arches, under triangular pediments, separated by shallow buttresses. The northern arch, or that nearest the town, is pierced as a door, the others are unpierced and adorned with panelling. The pediments are crocketed, and within them the outer mouldings of the arches are carried up in an ogee, also crocketed. The entire wall above the arches unoccupied with these decorative features, is enriched with a foliated pattern. The whole is flanked with the square bases of two turrets, and a rich buttress intervening between them and the rest of the front. Here, too, the panelling and flowing patterns cover the whole surface. Above the first story both the turrets and the general front are recessed. The buttresses carried up to the battlements again divide the central space into five com-



partments, each of which is crowned with projecting canopies, and forms a niche for a group of figures. The turrets have also their canopies on their two free sides, with pedestals for single figures. The upper part of the turrets is gone, but they probably terminated in low crocketed spires. Above the centre appears the base of some additional feature, probably a cross of far larger dimensions than ordinary. At the eastern angles of the chapel there are also turrets, through one of which a stair is carried from the lower chamber or crypt, (which was doubtless the residence of a chantry priest,) to the chapel, and thence again to the roof. All the windows have been so much damaged by "late botch-work," as Whittaker justly calls it, that it is impossible to trace their original design. They are, however, square-headed, but their square heads probably enclosed a series of tracery resembling that of the panelling of the lower stage of the turrets.

Authorities have somewhat obscured the history of this beautiful chapel. It is popularly attributed to Edward IV., and is said to have been erected and endowed by him as a chantry for prayers for the souls of those who fell at the battle of Wakefield, especially for the Duke of Rutland. This account, which is too interesting to be readily slighted, is given by Leland,<sup>1</sup> and by Archbishop Holgate; but it is quite certain that the west front cannot be so recent as the time of Edward IV., and it is far more to the purpose of the real history of the chapel, that in 1337, 31 Edward III., the king vested a rent-charge of ten pounds per annum in William Kaye and William Bull, chaplains, and their successors for ever, to perform Divine Service

<sup>1</sup> "These things I especially noted in Wakefield. The faire bridge of stone, of nine arches, under the which rennith the river of Calder; and on the est side of this bridge is a right goodly chapel of our Lady, and two cantuarie prestes founded in it, of the fundacion of the townesmen, as sum say: but the Dukes of Yorke were taken as founders for obteyning the mortemayn. I hard one say that a servant of King Edward's (the 4th)

father, or else of the Erle of Rutland, brother to King Edward the 4th, was a great doer of it. There was a sore batell faught in the south fieldes by this bridge: and yn the flite of the Duke of Yorke's parte, other the duke himself or his sun therle of Rutheland, was slayne a litle above the barres, beyond the bridge, going up a clyving ground. At this place is set up a crosse in memoriam."



daily in the chapel of S. Mary, then newly erected on Wakefield Bridge. Edward IV., however, may very probably have endowed an additional chantry here, on the occasion before mentioned, and perhaps some considerable additions may have been then made to the fabric; and to this date may be referred the parapet of the north and south sides of the chapel, which resemble those of the parish church in the same town, rebuilt about 1470.

It is gratifying to be able to add, that this beautiful chapel, which has until lately been barbarously mutilated, and profanely applied to low secular uses, is now being restored to its original beauty, that it may again be used for sacred purposes. The Vicar of Wakefield having obtained possession of the fabric, has committed it, under the superintendence of the Yorkshire Architectural Society, to Mr. Scott, the greatest master of Gothic architecture in the present day, from whose designs it is being restored, and it will soon be opened once again for Divine Service.

This is not the only instance of a bridge chapel with what may be called a double history. Indeed bridges are on many accounts so appropriate places for chantries and chapels, that the instances in which they were thus elevated to a higher use than that of a mere means of transit from one bank of a river to another, were probably very numerous; and the history attached to them and their chapels must often have been full of incidents. Not only was the bridge the usual access to the town, on which account alone it would have its wayside chapel,<sup>1</sup> where the pilgrim might say his orisons, before he entered on the worldly business which was the immediate object of his journey; but the ford, and the wooden bridge which succeeded it, and afterwards perhaps not unfrequently the bridge itself, even when completed, had been again and again the scene of fatal accidents or bloody frays; and the souls of those who fell in fight, or were lost in the flood, would be commended to God in a chantry endowed for the purpose, on the site of their disaster: and even

<sup>1</sup> And so also its fortified gateway, for some of the same reasons. See notices of the Bridges of Bridgenorth,

and of the Welsh Bridge, Shrewsbury in Vol. II. of the Antiquarian Repository.



when there was no especial incident of this kind connected with its history, the building of a bridge was accounted, and justly accounted, a charitable work, and was very often undertaken by great nobles and ecclesiastics, or by religious bodies, who would wish by the endowment of a chantry to sanctify their work.

A chapel dedicated to S. William on the Ouse bridge in York, now, with the bridge itself destroyed,<sup>1</sup> is perhaps a more than usually remarkable example of this. S. William had returned from Rome, (1153) having received from the Pope confirmation of his election to the throne of York; and as his elevation to this dignity had been cruelly disputed, and even with violence, his friends and the people flocked in vast numbers to meet him on his triumphant arrival. He had passed the wooden bridge by which the town was approached, when it gave way beneath the tread of so great a multitude, and numbers were precipitated into the river. The cries of the sufferers reached his ears, and, returning to the bank, he poured forth an earnest prayer for their deliverance. Not one perished:—

“ Eboracum præsul redit :  
Pontis casus nullum lædit  
De tot turbæ millibus;”

as the hymn for his festival rehearses. The good Bishop lived only to the following year, when he was taken off as some reports say by poison administered with the Holy Eucharist. He was afterwards canonized.<sup>2</sup> When a stone bridge was substituted for the wooden one, which was the scene of the accident just described, a chapel dedicated to S. William was part of the fabric.

Leland, however, says of this chapel, that it was indebted for its erection to a fray which took place on the bridge between the citizens and a Scotch nobleman named John Comyn, in 1268. Several of the servants of the Scotsman having been slain, the citizens were obliged to pay the sum of three hundred

<sup>1</sup> The bridge, but not the chapel, has been replaced with a more commodious structure.

given at length in Browne's History of the Edifice of the Metropolitan Church of S. Peter's, York.

<sup>2</sup> The Bull of his canonization is



pounds for the erection of a chapel, on the place of the affray, and to find two priests to celebrate mass for the souls of the slain for ever. Now drawings of this chapel given by Cave in his "Picturesque buildings in York," substantiate as far as possible both parts of the history : for the most ancient portions are late Norman, and must have been erected not very long after the death of S. William, but the greater part of the fabric as it stood in Cave's time, was of the Early English of Henry III., to which the fatal affray with the Comyn is referred.

As no part of this chapel can be assigned to the Decorated period, this mention of it must be considered as parenthetical. Not so a reference to the only wayside chapel still remaining in England so far as I know.<sup>1</sup> This is at Houghton-le-Dale,<sup>2</sup> near Walsingham, in Norfolk. It was probably the last chapel at which pilgrims paid their devotions before they reached the celebrated shrine of S. Mary, in the Abbey church.<sup>3</sup> It is of elaborate Decorated character.

But the history of Ely Cathedral during this period is connected with the most illustrious names, and is fuller of interest than that of any other church.

The foundations of the present church were laid by Simeon, Abbot of Ely, and brother of Walkelyn, Bishop of Winchester. The transepts still remain, and they alone of Simeon's work. The central tower had been overburdened with a spire about the middle of the thirteenth century, which occasioned its fall in 1322, after it had been for some time in so precarious a state, that the choir was not used for divine service. The fall of the tower destroyed not only the choir which was under it, but also three compartments of the Presbytery which had been erected in the most exquisite Early English by Bishop Hugh Norwold ; and the restoration of the ruined pile called forth all the energies both of the Bishop and of the monastery of Ely, and employed all the skill of the sacrist, Alan of Walsingham, in whose services that church was then most fortunate. The whole series

<sup>1</sup> They are not unfrequent on the Continent.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in the recent edition of Rickman.

<sup>3</sup> Erasmus gives a very curious account of his visit (not pilgrimage) to Walsingham, and the shrine of S. Mary.



of events cannot be better told than in the words of the historian, himself a monk of Ely, in the next century.

“Alan of Walsingham was made sacrist in the year 1321, during the episcopate of John Hotham, and held that post twenty years. In his time, many and great burdens fell upon his office, and the greatest of all in the year of his appointment. On the night before the festival of S. Ermenilda, (1322) after matins had been sung in the chapel of S. Catherine, for the convent did not dare to sing in the choir, on account of the dangerous state of the tower, the procession was concluded to the shrine, in honour of S. Ermenilda, the convent were returning to the dormitory, and a few only of the brethren had got into bed, when suddenly the campanile fell upon the choir with such tremendous noise, that one would have thought it had been an earthquake, and yet no one was injured or bruised by the ruin. Another wonderful thing also happened, which should rather be attributed to a miracle than to nature,—that in so terrible a fall and immense collision of stones with which the whole town of Ely was shaken, that fair and great fabric suspended over the sepulchres of the holy virgins, was preserved from all damage and fracture, by the protection of GOD, as may be piously believed, and by the merits of His beloved virgin Etheldreda. To CHRIST, therefore, be the glory! Alan, greatly grieving at this lamentable destruction, scarce knew whither to turn, or what to do, for the repair of so great a ruin; but resuming courage, and placing his trust in the help of GOD, and of His most Holy Mother Mary, and in the merits of S. Etheldreda, he set his hand to the work with all confidence. In the first place he caused the stones and wood which had fallen together in the ruin, to be carried away, a work of great labour and expense. The church itself he cleansed as quickly as he could from the cloud of dust which rested on it. After diligent examination and exact measurement, he proposed to construct a new campanile, and with great architectural skill he chose eight spots, where as many stone columns should be erected for the support of the whole fabric, beneath which the stalls of the choir might eventually be constructed. Then he dug into the ground, and carefully examined until he had found a solid bed on which the foundation of the work might be securely commenced. Having therefore carefully examined these eight places, and made them firm with stones and sand, he commenced at length the eight columns with the subsequent stone work, which was finished to the top course in six years, A.D. 1328: and immediately afterwards, in the same year, he began to erect that skilful structure of wood of the new campanile, designed with great and wonderful ingenuity, upon the before-mentioned stone work; all which was done at great and heavy charges, especially for the great beams of the said structure, which were found with difficulty, purchased at a great price, and brought together from afar by sea and land. Many ingenious artificers also were employed in carving them, and in putting them together in their place;



and at length, by the help of GOD, the work was brought to a happy and noble conclusion. The cost of the new campanile during the twenty years that Alan of Walsingham was sacrist, was £2400 6s. 11d.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the ground plan of Ely Cathedral will render the greatness and originality of this work very apparent. The nave, without its aisles, is somewhat deficient in width, and the origi-

<sup>1</sup> "Fuit autem Sacrista usque ad xxv. diem mensis Octobris Anno Domini MCCCXLI. fere per xx. annos. In cujus tempore multa et varia onera gravia valde officio Sacristariæ, et maxime eodem anno suæ præfectionis, evenerunt. Nam in nocte ante diem Festi S. Ermenildæ, post matutinas in Capella S. Katerinæ decantatas, eo quod in Choro propter imminentem ruinam illas decantare Conventus non audebat. Facta namque processione ad feretra in honore S. Ermenildæ, et conventu in dormitorium regrediente, vix paucis Fratribus in lectulis suis ingressis, et ecce subito et repente ruit campanile super chorum cum tanto strepitu et fragore; veluti putabatur terræ motus fieri; neminem tamen lædens nec opprimens in ruina. Aliud etiam contigit mirabile, miraculo potius ascribendum quam naturæ; quod in illa horribili ruina et lapidum collisione maxima, unde tota fere tremebat Elyensis villa, illa tamen pulcra et magna fabrica eminens supra sanctarum virginum sepulcra, protegente Deo et meritis suæ dilectæ Virginis Etheldredæ, ut speratur, ab omni læsione salvata est et fractura. Unde Christo sit gloria. Ex quo eventu dampnoso nimis et lamentabili præfatus sacrista Alanus dolens vehementer et tristis effectus, quo se verteret vel quid ageret ad tantam ruinam refarciendam, penitus ignorabat. Sed resumpto spiritu, in Dei adjutorio et suæ piissimæ matris Mariæ, necnon et in meritis S. Virginis Etheldredæ plurimum confidens, manum misit ad fortia; et primo lapides et ligna,

quæ conciderant in illa ruina, cum magno labore et expensis variis extra Ecclesiam fecit apportare; et ipsam de pulvere nimio, qui ibi erat, celeritate qua potuit emundare; et locum in quo novum campanile fuisset constructurus, per viii. partes arte architectonica mensuratas, in quibus viii. columnæ lapideæ totum ædificium supportantes erigerentur, et infra quas chorus postea cum stallis esset construendus, fodere fecit et scrutari; donec inveniret locum solidum, ubi firmamentum operis secure possit inchoare. Illis siquidem viii. locis sic, ut prædicitur, sollicite scrutatis, lapidibus et arena firmiter condensatis; tunc demum illis viii. columnas cum subsequenti opere lapideo inchoavit. Quod quidem usque ad superiorem tabulatum per vi. annos consummatum Anno Domini MCCCXXVIII. Et statim illo anno illa artificiosa structura lignea novi Campanilis summo ac mirabilis ingenio imaginata, super prædictum opus lapideum ædificanda fuit incepta, et maximis et onerosis expensis, præsertim pro lignis grossis structuræ prædictæ necessario congruentibus longe lateque requirendis, et difficultate maxima tandem inventis, magno precio comparatis, ac per terram et per mare apud Ely adductis, necnon et per ingeniosos artifices sculptis et fabricatis, atque in ipso opere artificiose coadunatis; honorificam et optatam auxiliante Deo sortita est consummationem."—Monachi Eliensis Historia, Wharton's Anglia Sacra, I. 643, 644.



nal tower of course partook of the same fault. But Alan, in seeking places for the two northern and two southern of his eight main supports, sought them, not within the base of the tower, but in the intersection of the outer walls of the four arms of the cross; so that the octagon is nearly twice the diameter of the old tower in each direction. It consists of four greater and four smaller sides, the greater sides opening by a lofty arch, (answering to the great tower arches in general effect) to the choir, nave, and transepts, respectively; thus preserving the original cross form of the interior; while the smaller sides open obliquely by a much lower arch into the side aisles.

The advantage of this arrangement in the effect of the interior is very great. In general we have, from any part of our great churches in which we may be standing, a lengthened prospect in one line only, or at most in two lines, intersecting at right angles beneath the tower; but here the side and cross aisles are added to the general effect; and besides this, a much greater body of light is thrown upon the central space. From the angles of the lower stone octagon spring the groining ribs, which meet above in the sides of an upper octagon of timber thirty feet in diameter, pierced on each of its sides with an open window; and additional light is gained by a large window of four lights, with rich tracery in the head rising to the point of the groining arches, in the diagonal sides of the octagon which open into the aisles. The whole of the vaulting system of this great work, together with the upper octagon, which is indeed, strictly speaking, a portion of the vaulting, is, as has been already related by the historian, of wood; the substructure not being calculated for its greater weight, had it been of stone.

Such is the constructive character of this beautiful substitute for the fallen tower. Its decorative features are very attractive, though of course of less real importance; and they are interesting, too, for the light which they throw on the history of ecclesiastical art. Painting once appeared, sculpture still appears everywhere. The shafts which support the main arches are clustered, and have richly foliated capitals. The vaulting-arches spring from the same level with the pier-arches beneath them, in the cardinal faces of the octagon, but as they are more acute, a space is left between the vaulting and the top of the



pier arches, and this is filled with panelling;<sup>1</sup> and before the head of the windows, which rise to the top of the vaulting arches, in the diagonal faces of the octagon, a portion of fine tracery is suspended, forming, so far as it is extended downwards, a double plane of tracery to the windows, a feature common enough in Continental churches, but by no means frequent in England.<sup>2</sup> There are foliated bosses at the intersection of all the ribs in the vaulting, which, it will be remembered, is wholly of timber, and a more elaborate boss in the centre of the lantern. The wall of each smaller or diagonal side of the octagon is relieved with three canopied and crocketed niches, once filled with statues, the pedestals for which remain. The hood mouldings over the arches leading into the aisles, are terminated with heads, or other devices admirably carved. Four of these are, in all probability, portraits: those at the north-west of Edward III. and Philippa his queen; those at the south-east, of Bishop Hotham and Prior Crowden,<sup>3</sup> names intimately connected with the architectural history of Ely about this time. But the most remarkable portion of the decorations of this fabric yet remains to be noted. The vaulting shafts at each angle of the octagon are interrupted at about half their height by richly canopied tabernacles, each adapted to receive one larger and two subordinate figures. These tabernacles are supported on brackets which are enriched with finely executed alto-relievos of the most important events in the legendary history of S. Etheldreda, the patron-saint of the cathedral church of Ely, thus splendidly adorned in her honour.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Panelling merely for the filling of space, is not very frequent until the next style, of the most advanced stage of which it is eminently characteristic.

<sup>2</sup> The great west window at Dunblane, in Scotland, is a good example of a double plane of tracery.

<sup>3</sup> The same portrait occurs again in Prior Crowden's chapel, but with features altered by advancing years.

<sup>4</sup> These subjects are thus arranged according to the description in Winkles' Cathedrals. "Beginning at the right side of the north-west arch, the first represents her reluctant marriage with

Egfrid, King of Northumberland. 2. Her taking the veil in the monastery of Coldingham. 3. Her pilgrim's staff taking root while she slept by the way, and bearing leaves and shoots. 4. Her preservation, with her attendant virgins, on a rock surrounded by a miraculous inundation, when the king pursued her with his knights to carry her off from her monastery. 5. Her instalment as abbess of Ely. 6. Her death and burial. 7. A legendary tale of one Brithstan, delivered from bonds by her merits after she was canonized. 8. The translation of her body."



It would be difficult now to imagine the splendour of this work when all the statues were perfect, all the whole surface gorgeous with gold, azure, and vermillion, and all the windows streaming with their gem-like hues. We must be contented with what we have, however, and be more than contented, even satisfied, with the historical notices that yet remain of this great work, its patrons, its designer, its execution, its smallest decorations. In addition to the work of the monk of Ely, already largely quoted, the archives of the minster contain very minute accounts of the expenditure upon the whole work, and in matters at the time almost insignificant, though now rendered very important by the paucity of light resting on the history of similar works at the same era. A portion of these has been published by Governor Pownall in the ninth volume of the *Archæologia*; but as his object was only to prove the use of oil in tempering colours in the fourteenth century, his extracts are of course limited.<sup>1</sup>

Enough has been said to prove that Alan of Walsingham had a truly creative genius, and that he was well fitted to lead the way in great architectural changes; yet his greatest and most original work was never followed in restorations, never imitated in new foundations; and this, probably, from its imperfect effect viewed from without. The lower octagon is indeed amply sufficient in area for the great mass of which it forms the centre, and the interior effect is faultless; but it is wholly deficient in one element of dignity, it is too low to give character to the whole building, as seen from without; and the upper, or wooden octagon, which is added for the sake of elevation, is small and poor for its position. In the exterior view the eye desiderates the tower. In judging of the work of Alan of Walsingham, it must, however, be borne in mind, that after the erection of the original central tower, a great western tower had been added to the cathedral, which rendered an additional tower in the centre less necessary.

In its original intention the octagon of Alan of Walsingham was the choir of the church, and it was fitted up by

<sup>1</sup> I have thrown into an Appendix to this chapter the more remarkable items

as they are given in the paper above mentioned.



him<sup>1</sup> with stalls, which were sufficiently perfect to be removed with very slight exceptions to their present place.

It will be remembered that the three compartments of the presbytery, now used as the choir, were destroyed by the fall of the tower; and these, too, were restored at the same time. The only name that occurs in connection with this part of the work is that of Bishop Hotham, who, as we are told, constructed the exquisitely beautiful fabric (the new work over the candelabrum as it is called in the Ely Register, as cited by Wharton), which begins where the work of Hugh de Norwold of happy memory ends, and extends to the new portions of the choir:<sup>2</sup> the work thus described being the three compartments of the presbytery, which had been destroyed by the fall of the tower; and this he did, says Godwin at the cost of £2034 12s. 8d. "as appears by an inscription on the north wall of the said presbytery, which is still to be seen."

Although this work was going on at the same time with the octagon designed and executed by Alan of Walsingham, it is remarkable how little it has in common with it. It is of extremely rich Decorated character, but if its history were not beyond all doubt, it would be placed a little earlier than the octagon. This may arise in part from the necessity of adapting it to the Early English work of Bishop Norwold; and this necessity has not only influenced some details, but also a much more important matter, the relative importance of the triforium. In an original design of this date the triforium would almost disappear, but here it is of precisely the same proportions with the fully developed triforium of the earlier work. This is altogether a very valuable example of the age.

Bishop Hotham died in 1336, having made many handsome presents to the church. He was buried at the east of the altar in the choir towards the high altar, under a beautiful stone structure with an image of the Bishop in alabaster upon the tomb, with seven candlesticks gracefully branching from one stem, and images of the creation of man and his expulsion from

<sup>1</sup> Winkles, but of this presently.

<sup>2</sup> "Ipse vero fieri fecit illam magnam fabricam pulcram valde, incipientem ab opere bonæ memoriæ

Hugonis de Northwolde, protendentem ad novam fabricam chori." Hist. Eli. Wharton, I. 647.



Paradise, ranged around, besides four images of armed kings and four dragons in four parts of the structure.<sup>1</sup>

Among the benefactions of Hotham thus acknowledged was a contribution towards the construction of a new choir; that is, I presume, of the wood work, which would probably be commenced after the octagon, where it was to be placed, was finished; and which, although it is attributed<sup>2</sup> to Alan of Walsingham, may probably have been designed by another man, and we are told accordingly that in 1338, the following year, the new choir was made by Brother R. de Saxmundham, who received of the executors of Bishop John Hotham 40s. towards the work.<sup>3</sup>

One would suppose that these works were sufficient to try the energies of the Bishop and convent of Ely during the whole course of their erection; but in fact another and still more gorgeous fabric had been commenced before the fall of the tower, and was in progress during the rest of the episcopate of Bishop Hotham, and was yet unfinished at the death of Simon Montacute, his successor, in 1344.<sup>4</sup> This was the Lady Chapel, the history of which makes us acquainted with one of the most interesting characters connected with ecclesiastical architecture.

John of Wisbeach had commenced this chapel out of the alms of the faithful, in honour of the Ever Virgin Mary, on the festival of her Annunciation, 1321, the venerable and ingenious Alan of Walsingham, (*venerabilis et artificiosus pater Alanus de Walsyngham*),<sup>5</sup> then sub-prior, laying the first stone. At the commencement of the said chapel, brother John had very insufficient means in his hands or in his treasury for the prosecution

<sup>1</sup> "Ipse autem sepultus est in Ecclesia sua Cathedrali apud Ely, et honorifice collocatus ad partem orientalem altaris in choro versus magnum altare, sub quadam pulchra structura lapidea, cum imagine Episcopi de alabastro super tumulum ipsius erecta, cum vii. candelabris ex uno stipite decentissime procedentibus; et circa siquidem imagines de creatione hominis et ejectione ejusdem de Paradiso; iv. etiam imagines regum armorum, et iv. dracones ad iv. partes ejusdem structuræ." Ib. 648.

<sup>2</sup> In Winkles' Cathedrals.

<sup>3</sup> Novus chorus factus erat temp. Ed. III. Regis anno 12, A.D. 1338, et sequentibus per fratrem R. de Saxmundham, &c. Ib. p. 644.

<sup>4</sup> The Lady Chapel was commenced in 1321: the tower fell in 1322. Hotham was Bishop from 1316 to 1336, and Montacute from 1336 to 1344. Alan of Walsingham was sacrist almost the whole of the time.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Eli. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, p. 651.



of so great an undertaking ; but firmly trusting in the Divine aid, he commended himself and his work to God Almighty and the Blessed Virgin, praying God earnestly and without intermission, that He would assist him in all his need : and God Almighty, Who according to His merciful purpose, maketh poor and maketh rich, abaseth and lifteth up, never suffered him either to abound overmuch, or to be greatly in want during the whole of the work ; but kept him always as it were in an equal balance, lest he should either exalt himself in his abundance, or be cast down in his need. Now it came to pass that one day he assembled some of the monks and some seculars, and earnestly entreated their assistance in digging the foundation. When the time came, they commenced digging one night, each alone, in the place assigned him ; but it fell out that the forementioned brother John was digging by himself in the place which fell to his lot, and there, unknown to all his companions, (by God's appointment as it should seem,) he found a brazen vessel full of money, as if it had been placed there on purpose to relieve the necessity which was pressing on him. And when the night was almost passed, at daybreak a little rain began to fall, so as to inconvenience the labourers ; and calling his companions together, "Come," said he, "my brethren and fellow-labourers, I give you many thanks for your hearty work, and now it is time for you to rest awhile. I commend you therefore to God, and may He worthily requite your toil." When they were gone, he alone remained, and taking up the vessel with all possible secrecy, he placed it in the dormitory under his bed. He took the money, obscured as it was by rust, and cleansed it by rubbing it with chalk and water ; and out of that, so long as it lasted, he paid the wages of the labourers. Meanwhile he was not ashamed to receive from the Christians who came to the place, whatever he could obtain, either by begging or selling. Thus passing his life in various labours, by great good management, and by begging, borrowing, and exposing to sale such things as by the laws of his order he might call his own, together with the assistance of the Bishop and other venerable men, and the alms of the people, when he had continued the work for twenty-eight years and thirteen weeks, with the greatest care, and when he had now finished the stone structure, together with the images



within and without the chapel, to the number of one hundred and forty-seven, besides the small images in the table over the altar, and besides the images at the introit of the host, in the chapel, and the wood-work also covered with lead, and the eastern gable (*agabulum orientale*) with two windows on either side of the chapel most beautifully fitted with iron and glass, he died, in a season of pestilence, on the 17th of June, 1349, and left his office to his successor, unburdened with any debt. Besides which, there was found laid up, after his death, to the value of one hundred pounds and more, with jewels and sums of money for the perfecting of the remainder of the work.<sup>1</sup>

This beautiful chapel, on which such true-hearted zeal was expended, is in some respects unique, in all respects remarkable. It extends eastward, parallel with the choir, from the north-east angle of the north transept, and consists of five compartments, marked externally by far projecting buttresses which rise over the parapet in richly crocketed finials; the pairs of buttresses at the angles forming larger and turret-like pinnacles. The windows are all of ample proportions, those at the side of five lights, those at the east and west of eight lights respectively. The tracery is throughout of the richest Decorated. The whole of the surface of the west end, even to the buttresses and the gable-cross, is enriched with foliated niches, all originally filled with imagery of beautiful character. In the interior all is gorgeous, from the floor to the roof. A rich arcade of tabernacle work runs round the whole chapel beneath the windows. The spaces between the windows and the window-jambs themselves are enriched with canopies, from which the figures have fallen, but portions of many of the groups in several parts of the chapel still remain, proving that the legendary history of the Blessed Virgin is here profusely illustrated, as that of S. Etheldreda is in the interior of the great octagon. The groining is elaborately decorated with bosses at all the intersections of the ribs, which are multiplied by the cross ribs, which give this an early place among liern vaults. In a word, when the statues mentioned in the history were perfect, and the windows were still gorgeous with coloured glass, this must have been a work to compensate the toil and self-devotion of many years.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eli. Wharton, I. 651.



Simon Montacute had preceded John of Wisbeach to the grave, and was not permitted to see the completion of the glorious fabric to which he had been so great a benefactor. He died June 20, 1344, and was buried before the high altar in the new chapel before its completion. The Chapter of Ely now felt that they had a fair opportunity of acknowledging the great benefits which their church had received at the hands of Alan of Walsingham, first sub-prior, then sacrist, and afterwards prior, and he was elected to fill the episcopal throne; but the usurpation of the Pope frustrated their just intentions, and one Thomas de Lylde was thrust into the vacant throne. Here ends, so far as we are concerned, the history of Ely, in the fourteenth century, which we should certainly have closed with greater satisfaction, had we left Alan of Walsingham Bishop of the church which he had so greatly adorned. We cannot leave his name without adding that he was the architect of several other buildings, both at Ely and elsewhere. Among others the church of Little S. Mary, Cambridge, is attributed to him;<sup>1</sup> and one of his additions to the monastic buildings of Ely we may mention for its connection with his office and pursuits. He erected a square chamber of stone, covered with lead in the north corner next the cemetery in the upper story of which is a table made square (*quadrata*, perhaps covered with checkers,) for calculations, and for receiving the accounts belonging to his office; the lower story is divided by a stone wall into two chambers, one for a goldsmith's workshop, the other for the wine it was his business to keep.<sup>2</sup> His merits were recognised in his own day, and besides his genius as an architect, he is recorded by his townsman Walsingham as a skilful worker in gold. He was alive in 1345: his epitaph is as follows:—

“Flos operatorum, dum vixit, corpore sanus,  
Hic jacet ante chorum prior hic tumulatus Alanus.

<sup>1</sup> See Memorials of Cambridge, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> In angulo boreali juxta cimiterium cameram lapideam quadratam plumbo tectam construxit, in cujus parte superiori est camera quædam cum mensa quadrata ad calculandum et ad pro-

ventus officio pertinentes recipiendum. Sub qua est duplex camera muro lapideo divisa, uno pro selda aurifabri, et alia pro quodam parvo cellario pro vino officii, cum habeatur reponendo. —Ib. 646.



Annis bis denis vivens fuit ipse sacrista,  
 Plus tribus his plenis prior ens perfecit et ista.  
 Sacristariam quasi funditus ædificavit;  
 Mephale, Brame etiam, huic ecclesiæ cumulavit.  
 Pro veteri turre, quæ quadam nocte cadebat,  
 Hanc turrim, proprie quam cernitis, hic faciebat.  
 Et plures ædes qui fecerat ipse prioris;  
 Detur ei sedes cælo pro fine laboris."<sup>1</sup>

The chapter on the Decorated period closes as worthily with Alan of Walsingham, as that on the Perpendicular period will commence with William of Wykeham.

## APPENDIX.

"Excerpta quædam e Rotulis Comput. de Expensis et Receptis Sacristæ Eliensis, in Archivis Ecclesiæ Eliensis manentibus, 1773."<sup>2</sup>

"In the Roll containing the sacrist's annual expenses from (1325, 16 Ed. II.) Michaelmas to Michaelmas following, is the charge under the title of *Custos novi operis*, et minut. res pro novo opere, viz., in 3 lagenis et dimid. *olei* pro ymaginibus super columnas depingend. 3s. 6d.

"In the sacrist's annual Roll of expenses about the church, from Michaelmas, 8 Ed. III. (A.D. 1335,) to Michaelmas following, whilst the dome and lanthorn were in building, are these charges made under the general title of '*Custos novi operis*,' and particular title of *nova pictura*.

"In 80 lib. rubei plumbi empt., pro volta novi campanilis depingend. una cum 20 lib. rubei plumbi empt. pro eodem, 16s. 8d. Item, in 18 lib. rubei plumbi pro eodem, 3s. 9d. prec. lib. 2½d. In 20 lib. de *Vernyz*, emp. pro eodem, 5s. prec. lib. 3d. Item, in 3 lib. de gold colour emp. ad idem, 2s. 2d. Summa, 27s. 7d.

"In the sacrist's annual Roll of expenses about the church from Michaelmas, 10 Ed. III. (1336) to Michaelmas, 1337, under the title of '*Custos novi operis* et *nova pictura*,' viz.; In 2 lib. de Vermilion, empt.

<sup>1</sup> Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, I. 684. in the ninth volume of the *Archæo-*

<sup>2</sup> From Governor Pownall's paper logia.



29d. Item, in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lib. de Verdigrez emp. 2s. 5d. In  $\frac{xx}{7}$ <sup>1</sup> 4 lib. albi plumbi empt. de Thoma de Bongeye, 14s. 4d. prec. lib.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ d.

"Item,  $\frac{xx}{7}$  4 lib. albi plumbi emp. de eodem, 12s. prec. 1d. In 13 lagenis *olei* empt. de Thoma d' Elm, 10s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. prec. lagen. 10d. ob. In 6 lagenis *olei* emp. de Thoma de Cheyk, 4s. 11d. prec. lag. 10d.

"In 28 lagen. et dimid. *olei* empt. de Nich. de Wickam, 26s. 1d. ob. prec. lagen. 11d. In dimid. lagen. *olei* emp. 3d. In vas terren. pro *oleo* imponend. 4d. quad.

"In 1 longa corda emp. pro le chapital deaurand. et columpn. depingend. 8d. Item, solut. Nicholao Pictori pro volta nova dealband. in parte per 3 septimanas ad tasc. 3s. 6d.

"Item, cuidam Pictori pro eodem 3 septimanas ad mensam Domini, 21d. In 6 cent. et 1 quarter, fol. argent. empt. de Radulpho de Golbeter, 4s. 2d., prec. per cent. 8d. Item, solut. pro fol. auri fabricand. de florent. domini, 16s. in cavenas et parcamen. empt. pro mold. 9d. Item, solut. pro Magro. Will. Schank, pro dictis voltis depingend. cum le chapital et le bociz deaurand. ex conventione, £10. Summa, £14 19s. 2d.

"In the same Roll is this article under the title 'Minut. res. Item, dat. Johannis de Offincton querenti 1 pictorem in patria sua, 3s. 6d.'

"In the sacrist's Roll of annual expenses about the church from Michaelmas, 13 Ed. III. (1339), to Michaelmas following, are these charges made under the general title of 'Custos novi operis,' and the particular head of 'Custos novæ picturæ.'

"In 31 lagenis et dimid. *olei* empt. de quodam nomine de Wicham pro *color. temperand.* 21s., prec. lag. 8d.

"In  $\frac{c}{18}$ <sup>2</sup> de silverfol. emp. per vices de Radulpho de Golbeter et de aliis apud London ut patet per parcell. 6s. 9d. prec. C. td. Item,  $\frac{c}{8}$  de Goldfyn empt. de eodem per vices ut patet per parcell. 32s. prec. C. 4s. Item,  $\frac{c}{12}$  de gold parti empt. de eodem, 36s. prec. C. 3s. Item, 1 lib. de orpiment. empt. 6d. Item, in 3 quarter. de vermilion, empt. de Thoma de Hende, 11d. Item, 4 buss de scrowes pro cole inde faciend. 18d. Item, 1 lib. et dimid. albi plumbi empt. apud Cantabrig. 2s. 8d. Item, in 6 lib. de vermilion empt. de Robert de Dokkyng, 5s. lib. 10d. In Cynopro empt. 16d. In 40 lib. de blaunk plumb. empt. de Will. de Elingham apud Lenn, 5s. 8d. prec. lib.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. In stipend. Walteri Pictoris per 42 septimanas (quia stetit cum Domina de Clare per 10 septimanas,) 28s. cap. per septiman. 8d. præter mensam et robam.

"Excerpta e Rotulo Comput. Custodis Capellæ B. Mariæ a festo S. Michaelis, An. 24. Reg. Edw. III. per annos 4 sequentes. sub titulo Custus Capelle. In oleo empt. pro picture faciend. in capella, 10s. In albo plumbo empt. 6s. 4d. In cynopre empt. 20s. In vermilion, 3s. In auro empt. pro dict. pictur. £9. Solut. Johanni Pictori pro candelabris et olietis pingendis, 20s. Sub. tit. Robe. empt. Item, in 1 Robe empt. pro pictore, 8s."

<sup>1</sup> Seven score.

<sup>2</sup> Thirteen hundred.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PERPENDICULAR PERIOD.

INTEREST OF TRANSITION PERIOD.—THE NAVE OF WINCHESTER; EDINGTON AND WYKEHAM.—GLOUCESTER, NORWICH, PRINCIPLES OF RESTORATION; WINCHESTER, CANTERBURY, YORK, GLOUCESTER, CROWLAND, TICKHILL, DURHAM, KIRKSTALL.—CLERESTORIES.—TOWERS AND SPIRES: SALISBURY, NORWICH, COVENTRY, WHITTLESEA, RUSHDEN, SHREWSBURY, LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEM, CHESTER-LE-STREET, LOUTH, NEWCASTLE, FOTHERINGAY, LOWICK, BOSTON, HOWDEN, DERBY, EVESHAM, NORWICH, GLOUCESTER, GLASTONBURY, BRISTOL, TAUNTON, NORTH PETHERTON, TITCHMARSH.—USES OF TOWERS:—BEACONS AND LANDMARKS; WHITTLESEA, RAUNDS, THE LANTERN OF ARDEN, COVENTRY, DUNDY, YORK, HADLEIGH.—DEFENCE;—MELSONBY, MIDDLEHAM, SPENNITHORNE, BEDALE: IRTHLINGBOROUGH, STANWICK, TENTERDEN.

THERE are no two parts of the history of ecclesiastical architecture more full of interest, than the two transitional periods from Norman to Early English, and from Decorated to Perpendicular. The first is indeed beyond compare the most *important in fact*; but its *interest in narrative* arises chiefly from the very minute account which Gervase gives in his chronicle of the work of William of Sens at Canterbury, where he first in England, as far as is actually recorded, used the Pointed arch.<sup>1</sup> The late work of Professor Willis on Canterbury cathedral, has revived and heightened the interest of this remote chronicle.

In the history of the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular we have no such description, but again Professor Willis comes to our aid, and helps us to read another part of our history in the walls of Winchester; and Edington, and William of Wykeham become to us as another William of Sens and William of England.

<sup>1</sup> There is however little doubt that already used; together with Norman at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Buildwas, details. and some other churches, it had been



The cathedral of WINCHESTER, in which the first great Perpendicular work was executed, was originally Norman, having been erected by Bishop Walkelyn between 1079 and the end of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The central tower fell in 1107, and large repairs were rendered necessary, which, however, still left a Norman cathedral in plan and details. The usual extension of the choir eastward was made by Bishop de Lucy, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and of course in the Early English style. But the great work which now forms the subject of our history was the conversion of the Norman into a Perpendicular nave, which was commenced by Bishop EDINGTON about 1350, and carried on by his successors WYKEHAM, BEAUFORT, and WAYNFLETE, the latter of whom lived till 1486.

To appreciate the change thus made, we must recall the appearance of a Norman nave and aisles, and observe both the relative proportions of their parts, and the character of their details. On the outside, the flatness of the general effect arising from the shallowness of the buttresses, and the want of pinnacles, has to be altered; and the round-headed windows require to be extended in all their proportions, and filled with tracery. Within, the three great arcades, of pier arches, triforium, and clerestory, have to be merged into two; the triforium having already been reduced in the preceding style, to a deep band of panelling, masking rather than revealing the passage which runs behind it: the clerestory meanwhile has gained as much in importance as the triforium has lost; the necessary panelling being made a part of the same composition with the tracery of the clerestory windows. Besides these great changes, that from round to pointed in all the arches, and from flat to pointed in the roof, must be made in the general expression, and in the several parts, of a Norman nave, before it becomes even the skeleton of a Perpendicular edifice.

In matters of detail the Norman pillars were not only of great solidity, but their shape was very different from that to which they are now to be reduced. The section of a Norman pier was ordinarily composed of circles or parts of circles, and of right angles, of half cylinders placed on the face of a square, or engaged shafts within the recess formed by two squares set one

<sup>1</sup> The present transepts are a part of Walkelyn's work.



against another. Throughout, both in form and expression, the mass is a pier rather than a pillar; a part of the wall, isolated, yet still wall-like. In the Perpendicular style the pier vanishes, and the pillar appears. The salient angles which suggest the square face of the wall are rebated, either by a hollow or by some combination of the ogee; and the attached parts of cylinders become in their general proportions rather bowtels than engaged shafts. In like manner the square soffits of the arches must be moulded into hollows and chamfers; carrying up the lights and shadows which vary the surface of the pillar to the point of the arch, where they are again caught up by some additional member, and borne aloft till they converge in the bosses of a groined roof.

The very general terms hitherto employed would be equally applicable to the Decorated; one element however of a new style, and that of considerable importance, not only in itself, but in its effects on the forms of buildings, was first largely used in the Perpendicular, and that at its very first introduction:—the four-centred arch. This form predominates in the works of Edington and Wykeham at Winchester, in the contemporary works at Canterbury, and ever after till the fall of Gothic architecture.

The manner of effecting the change thus described in the nave of Winchester was as follows.

For the great western towers a front, consisting of a high gable between two pinnacled turrets, and flanked by the ends of the aisles, was substituted:<sup>1</sup> the whole width of nave and aisles respectively being filled with large pointed windows, full of perpendicular tracery, and the gable, and pinnacles, and in short almost every portion of the wall being enriched with panelling. The external walls of the aisles were pierced with large windows having four-centred heads occupying the whole of the space from buttress to buttress; and the buttresses on the north side, though not on the south, were extended outwards at the base, and reduced by several stages till they terminated in panelled and crocketed finials. The windows of the aisles were repeated in the clerestory; but here, though it would have been quite in

<sup>1</sup> It must be understood, however, spirit of the Perpendicular in western that there is nothing alien from the towers.



keeping with the rest, no pinnacles were raised above the battlements. All this was done by the entire destruction of the west end of the Cathedral; but on the south the old wall remains on the exterior; and on the north the rubble of which the inside of the thick Norman walls was composed is untouched and the ashlar only is reduced in size, or new ashlar is substituted, as may be necessary to produce the required effect.

In the interior the whole of the ashlar coating of the walls is either chiselled into the forms required by the new style, or altogether superseded by new work: the former method being pursued by Bishop Edington, and at first by Wykeham, but soon deserted for the second.

Thus Perpendicular pillars are cut out of Norman piers; and the additional height is gained by throwing down the triforium arcade, and carrying the new pillars to the level of the bottom of the old triforium passage; while the arches rise to the middle of the old triforium. Thus the nave pillars are nearly twice the height that they were, and the arches which they support are half as high again as in the Norman church.

The clerestory windows occupy their original position, but they are altered in form, as before mentioned, and their sills are brought down a little lower. The composition of the clerestory windows, or the same series of tracery lines, is continued downwards till it masks the triforium gallery; before which an open parapet extends, still more disguising this marked feature of a Norman church. Throughout the whole of the work the core of the Norman walls remains, wherever it was possible to retain it, and in some parts as much of the original ashlar as could be reduced with the chisel to the new forms.

Finally, instead of a flat roof extending from clerestory to clerestory, a vaulted ceiling springs from the top of the triforium, and rises over the clerestory, spanning the windows with its several bays.<sup>1</sup>

What part WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM had in originating and devising this revolution in the nave of Winchester, and designing its details, and how far, therefore, he may be called the originator of the Perpendicular style, is not very clear. The work was

<sup>1</sup> The very valuable figures in Professor Willis' paper, are necessary to make even this short account entirely clear.



commenced under Bishop Edington,<sup>1</sup> and as it happens, the part attributed to him is even more intensely Perpendicular than the rest; the great west window being of a design which might very well be assigned to a century after its real date, and the panelling which is extended over the whole surface of the interior of the west end, being of equally decided character. But though Wykeham did not in his own episcopate, and at his own charges, commence the work, it is not improbable that he designed it, and as the friend of Edington superintended its execution. When Edington commenced his episcopate, Wykeham was twenty-three years old. He was introduced to the Bishop by Nicholas Uvedale, governor of Winchester castle, and was afterwards presented to the King by his illustrious patrons: and as he was almost immediately employed as an architect, being made clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henle and Yethamsted, there can be no doubt that it was for a proficiency as an architect, gained and exercised under Uvedale and Edington, that he was commended to the king. We should presume that Uvedale had found him so competent to order the works in the castle of Winchester that he presented him to the Bishop, when repairs of the Cathedral were determined on; and that having again approved himself worthy of commendation, he was promoted to the king's service, in which he acquired, as is sufficiently well known, as great trust, reputation, and rewards<sup>2</sup> as have fallen to

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Edington also rebuilt the church of Edington, his native place in Wiltshire, and here it is said the transition to Perpendicular is very apparent.

<sup>2</sup> "Windesora fuit pagus celeberrimus, illic  
Rex statuit castrî mœnia magna sui,  
Wicamus huic operi præponitur: inde  
probatum est  
Ingenio quantum polluit, arte, fide.  
Ergo fit Edwardo charus, custosque  
sigilli  
Non ita post multos incipit esse  
dies."

Lord Campbell quotes these lines, and adds, "the analogous case would be, if Mr. Barry, as a recompense for

his excellent plan for the new houses of parliament, were now to be made Lord Chancellor."

Now Lord Campbell must know as well as any man that this case would not be at all analogous. Neither was the office of chancellor and the supposed requirements for it in Wykeham's time, what they are now; nor are the education and habits of a professional architect now, the same with those of a young churchman, and a civilian of the fourteenth century.—Nor again is it for the present day to sneer at such a method of dispensing honours and offices. There is now indeed, happily, no fear of a Clergyman, for whatever services, being made Lord



any man's lot for an honourable service of his prince. Nor were his own private works less calculated to ensure him a high and lasting renown. His noble school and college have ever produced him bedesmen, and champions of his fame; and Edward himself did not better consult his glory in the institution of The Garter, than his noble servant in the foundations of Winchester College and the New College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

If space permitted we should gladly pursue the subject of Wykeham's architectural career, but having associated his name with the introduction, or at least the establishment, of a new style, we must refer the reader to an elaborate paper of Mr. Cockerill, in the transactions of the Archæological Institute, for a summary of his works, and an elegant eulogium of his style; in which however we must remark that some things are said which are equally true of buildings before Wykeham's time; and others to which as a matter of taste we might be inclined to demur.

The whole of the cathedral (then the abbey church) of GLOUCESTER, received also such modifications as made it in its general effect a Perpendicular church; and the process by which the choir was thus transformed, is not less curious than that which we have seen pursued in the nave of Winchester.

Gloucester Cathedral was originally a Norman church, with the usual short choir, an apsidal east end, and, probably, two western towers. In this form it was dedicated by Abbot Serlo in the year 1100. The great piers and arches, both of choir and nave, of Serlo's work remain; indeed there is scarcely an English cathedral of which a greater part of the original fabric still exists, but its character is throughout entirely masked.

I have before had occasion to mention the splendid monument of Edward II., and the reward which this abbey received for the

Chancellor; but there is great danger of political and purely secular services being rewarded by the highest spiritual places in the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Few buildings are so minutely dated as these foundations of William of Wykeham. He laid the foundation of his College at Oxford, March 5, hora quarta Ante Meridian, A.D. MCCCLXXIX. and it was first entered as a residence

on the Sunday next before Palm Sunday, A.D. MCCCLXXXVI. April 14, hora tertia Ante Meridian. He laid the first stone of Winchester College, 26 March, hora tertia Ante Meridian, A.D. MCCCLXXXVII. and it was first used hora tertia Ante Meridian, 28 March, A.D. MCCCXCIII.—Geraldus Cambrensis in Anglia Sacra. II. 356.



charge of that prince's obsequies. The first great evidence of its enriched exchequer which now remains, is the conversion of the aisles into the Decorated of that day. The west front and the two first bays of the nave, together with the south porch were added by Abbot Morwent, in the very richest Perpendicular; and a clerestory and parapet were afterwards set upon the nave in the same style. The magnificent tower, (the most splendid perhaps in the kingdom, and the pattern after which a series of towers of unexampled beauty have been designed,) was built by Abbot Seabrook about 1455; and about the same date the choir received its latest transformation. The Norman piers and arches still remain; but upon these is erected a lofty clerestory, with elaborate Perpendicular windows, the tracery of which is continued downwards not only over the triforium, as at Winchester and Canterbury, but to the top of the monuments upon the floor of the choir: so that a veil of open-work seems suspended from the roof, over the venerable framework of Norman arches and piers. A window, the largest in the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> occupies the square east end, which is fitted upon the semicircular apse; and the vaulting, which is very complicated, is of course in harmony with the clerestory from which it springs. In addition to such changes, this church had received before the Reformation a Lady Chapel, and the finest cloisters in the kingdom.

The modification of the choir of NORWICH has something in common with that of the nave of Winchester, and with that of the choir of Gloucester. Like the piers of Winchester, those of Norwich have a Perpendicular face given to their surface; like the clerestory of Gloucester that at Norwich is entirely superadded, and like that too the form of the east end is varied from that of the Norman apse, which is retained beneath it; but at Norwich the Perpendicular portion is a half octagon, at Gloucester it is square.

Instances of such transmutations might be multiplied indefinitely, but instead of detailing facts we turn to a great principle of restoration pursued from the very beginning by mediæval architects; that they did not imitate the parts of the building already erected, or that which they were restoring, but

<sup>1</sup> Its size is 79 × 35 feet; that at the east of York is 76 × 32.



they employed the style in use at the time of the restoration. Thus the nave of Winchester was not assimilated to the Norman transepts or Early English choir, but it assumed altogether a new character: the nave of Canterbury was designed after that at Winchester, or at any rate upon the same principles, instead of being adapted to the earlier character of the rest of the building; and at York, a Perpendicular choir was added to Early English transepts, and a Decorated nave. Even where large parts of the older fabric were retained as the substratum of the new, or where mere insertions were made, the same principle was adhered to.

At Gloucester the massive Norman skeleton remains to uphold the superincumbent weight; but a new system, like the delicate tissue of the nerves of expression, in the most eloquent features, is thrown over it, and the enormous bulk and giant strength of a Norman fabric, brightens into cheerfulness and grace.<sup>1</sup> The magnificent Early English west front of Crowland retains all the lower portion, but the upper part is Perpendicular. The fine church of Tickhill in Yorkshire was originally Early English, and some Decorated additions are still retained; but the whole of the chancel, nave, and aisles were rebuilt at the close of the fourteenth century, and the tower still retains its ancient lower stories, the very jambs of the windows remaining; but within these has been inserted one of the most beautiful early Perpendicular windows in the kingdom, and the upper stories are a very rich specimen of the same style. Decorated, and afterwards Perpendicular tracery (but the latter less frequently) was continually inserted in Norman and Early English windows, as for instance at Durham, and at Kirkstall Abbey. In short in everything from the greatest to the least the same rule was followed. Each style successively gave way to one which was thought better, and future benefactors did not even in restorations imitate that which they thought worse.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To this remarkable specimen of the lightest form of Perpendicular the author of the description in Winkles' Cathedrals has applied the pretty simile of Mr. Trollope, in his tour through Western France, "the vaulted roof seems to fall upon the supporting

walls with all the gentleness and lightness of a snow-flake on a flower."

<sup>2</sup> After stating a rule broadly, one has generally to mention exceptions, but here even these will be found in some degree to follow the rule. Westminster Abbey, commenced in Early English



There is besides another feature of church restoration which may best be noticed here. In nine cases out of ten, the CLERESTORY of village churches will be found of a later character than the aisles, and very generally Perpendicular. This is from a method of restoring the roof which was pursued partly perhaps, from economy, partly because, when the clerestory had become common, it was accepted as a good additional feature. The older roofs were all of high pitch, and many of them extended unbroken over nave and aisles, as at the churches of Bolton-Percy and Patrington, in Yorkshire; two remarkable examples, the latter especially, of such an arrangement remaining in a large church. The long timbers began at length to decay, and the ends had perished before the rest was at all affected. To reconstruct the roof of the same pitch would require new timbers;—a roof of less pitch might be constructed with the old timbers, the ends only being sawn off. But a low-pitched nave roof required to be raised at the spring, or the general effect would be depressing and gloomy. A wall, therefore, pierced with windows, was added upon the nave piers: and upon this the new roof was constructed.<sup>1</sup> Thus the clerestory may rather be called, in its history, a part of the roof, than of the walls, of the church;—an accident, rather than an original feature. But it must be added, that when the use of lead and the introduction of the four-centred arch had caused the general adoption of roofs of low pitch, the clerestory became an original feature of almost all churches with aisles. At Scarborough,

times, was continued through the Decorated into the Perpendicular period, without a change of the more prominent features, but the mouldings, and the sections of the pillars partake of the style during which they are erected. The nave and choir of York may almost be called uniform in general design, but the tracery, the mouldings, the sections, are found on a minute examination to be purely of the several periods to which they belong. The part of the Presbytery of Ely rebuilt in Decorated times retains the triforium arcade, which is an Early English feature, but

its details are Decorated, and Beverley Minster is equally remarkable for an adaptation of Decorated details to an Early English plan.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest account of the raising of the roof of a church is that which is given of Odo raising the roof of Canterbury Cathedral; and as the work occupied three years, and was therefore considerable, Professor Willis conjectures that it was done by the addition of a clerestory, as is so frequent in later styles. Willis' Canterbury, p. 30.



which has an original clerestory, an addition has been made to the height of its walls, at the repair of the roof, analogous to the introduction of a clerestory where there was none originally. The great difference which the introduction of the clerestory has made in the aspect of our village and ordinary town churches, is so great that it could not be passed unnoticed.

The time of which we are now speaking is distinguished also by the splendour and loftiness of the TOWERS and SPIRES which were then erected. The spire of Salisbury, which rises to the height of three hundred and eighty-seven feet from the ground, was erected about the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1361 the spire of NORWICH was blown down, and it was rebuilt by Bishop Percy soon afterwards.<sup>1</sup> S. Michael's spire, COVENTRY, was built between 1373 and 1395.<sup>2</sup> This is the most beautiful spire in the kingdom: indeed, it is perhaps the most perfect architectural work in design and execution that we have, and though not the highest steeple, yet it is *in effect* by far the highest: for it does not rise, like Salisbury and Norwich, from the centre of a transeptal church, but from the ground; and its flying buttresses, and extremely taper form, give it a great advantage over every spire which rises from within battlements.<sup>3</sup>

It would be unpardonable to leave the spire of S. Michael's, without alluding to its two graceful sisters in the same city;

<sup>1</sup> Glossary. Its height is 318 feet.

<sup>2</sup> "The tall and beautiful steeple, which, for its excellent workmanship and height, is inferior to none in England, was more than twenty-two years in building, being begun in Anno 1373, 47 Ed. III., and finished Anno 1395, 18 Ric. II. But I find that in 12 Hen. VI. there was a new work begun upon this church, yet what in particular I cannot directly say: howbeit, by the fashion of the building, do I conceive, that the whole body of the church, or the greatest part thereof was then built in that form we now behold it."—Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps in theory the broach is the most perfect form of spire; but to

the eye flying buttresses amply compensate by their richness for their comparative imperfection in their task of carrying the eye upward, without a check, from the tower towards the top of the spire.

I may add the infrequency of the broach in the Perpendicular style has been somewhat misstated. Stanion, in Northamptonshire (an exquisitely graceful example), has been cited as the only instance; but Kelmark, Brayport, Thorpe-Malsover, Desborough, Brampton in Northamptonshire, with South Kilworth in Leicestershire, ought to be added; these are, however, of the same date with Stanion, and probably by the same hand.



it may truly be said that the three together, in all their varieties of grouping, form a picture not to be surpassed in England ; and when the cathedral still existed, which had, as is generally supposed, three spires, like those at Lichfield, the city of Coventry must have been imposing beyond all present imagination. Even now, there is a single point from which the whole length of S. Michael's and of Trinity church are seen together, with the Grey Friars' steeple beyond, and it would be difficult to mention an architectural group in England<sup>1</sup> which does not shrink from comparison with this.

Of other remarkable spires of this style we may mention WHITTLESEA, in Cambridgeshire, RUSHDEN, in Northamptonshire, the two spires of S. MARY and S. ALKMUND, SHREWSBURY, LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN, in Yorkshire, CHESTER-LE-STREET, in Durham, and finally LOUTH, in Lincolnshire, the substance of the building accounts of which last I have transferred from the tenth volume of the *Archæologia*, to the appendix to this chapter. They will be found to embrace materials, labour, the additional remuneration of master masons, bells and all their accompaniments, law charges, the expense of the whole work, the means of obtaining supplies, and the record of the conclusion of the work, which was completed between 1501 and 1518 : the whole document is one of the most interesting architectural records in existence.

The number of fine Perpendicular towers is so great, that we must select those only which have an interest beyond their mere beauty, either from their connection with some great name, or from some peculiarity in their structure, or from the influence they may have had on the architecture of a neighbourhood.

The tower of S. NICHOLAS, NEWCASTLE, holds a very high place in this list. I shall describe it, and state its importance in the history of architecture, in the words of Rickman. Having mentioned the general character of the church, he proceeds :—  
“ The steeple is the most beautiful feature of the building, and is a most excellent composition : it is early Perpendicular, not much enriched, but producing a very fine effect ; it is the type, of which there are various imitations : the best known are

<sup>1</sup> The Pisan group of Cathedral, Campo Santo, is *the* group in the Baptistery, Leaning Campanile, and world.



S. Giles's, Edinburgh, the church at Linlithgow, the college tower at Aberdeen, and its modern imitation by Sir C. Wren, at S. Dunstan's in the East, London ; but all these fall far short of the original. The tower is engaged, and opens to the nave and aisles by beautiful arches : the corners are bold buttresses, crowned by octagonal turrets, with pinnacles ; from the base of these turrets spring four flying buttresses, on the intersection of which is placed an elegant lantern, crowned with a spire. The flying buttresses are crocketed, and are peculiarly graceful in their forms. This steeple is as fine a composition as any of its date, and the lightness and boldness of the upper part can hardly be exceeded."

Those who have seen this beautiful steeple, will wonder that the same design was not more frequently adopted by contemporary, and imitated by succeeding architects.<sup>1</sup> The same remark may be made of another class of towers, most of them to be re-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Christopher Wren imitated this steeple in S. Dunstan's in the East. Mr. Carter, in Vol. LXXXIII. p. 335,

of the "Gentleman's Magazine," gives the following comparative account of the two steeples.

"S. DUNSTAN.

"Width of tower, twenty feet. Proportionate height, three stories to the battlements of the tower.

"Doorway to first story, and one window to each front of second and third story.

"Abutting or flying arches in the summit of the tower, plain masonry without mouldings or ornament. These arches bearing in their centre an unappling perforated (in its base) obelisk.

"Obelisk pedestals, great and small, at the angle and centre of each point of the tower."

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Notwithstanding its comparative poverty, the spire of S. Dunstan's was a great favourite with Wren, who would probably have affected to ridicule the glorious steeple of Newcastle.

"S. NICHOLAS.

"Width of tower, forty feet. Proportionate height, five stories to the battlements of the tower.

"Doorway to first story, and one window to each front of second, third, and fourth story ; to the fifth story on each front two magnificent windows.

"Flying or intersecting ribs on the summit of the tower, replete with mouldings and corresponding ornaments. These ribs bearing in their centre an efficient perforated lanthorn and spire.

"Characteristic pinnacles, great and small, at the angles and centre of each front of the tower, with battlements, demy ditto, crockets and terminating vanes ; pinnacles to the lanthorn with crockets and vanes ; spire with crockets and a vane, (number of vanes, thirteen,) with eight small buttress flying arches, for the support and embellishment of the several pinnacles."



ferred to this age, of which we may take FOTHERINGAY as the type. The ordinary square tower is surmounted by an octagonal lantern of much smaller dimensions, which is connected with the tower, in composition, by flying buttresses from the bases of the angle pinnacles. Though Fotheringay is perhaps the best known example, it is far from being the most graceful, or the most splendid; the neighbouring tower of LOWICK, where the same general design is followed, exceeding it in beauty, and that of BOSTON, in Lincolnshire, setting all competition at defiance. Rickman thus describes this beautiful structure:—"The tower, which is one of the finest compositions of that style, is a complete arrangement of panelling over walls and buttresses, except the belfry story, in which the window is so large as nearly to occupy the whole face of the tower. A very rich and elegant octagonal lantern rises from the tower, and is supported by flying buttresses from the four pinnacles; this lantern is panelled throughout, and each side pierced with a large two-light window, having double transoms; this composition gives to the upper part of the steeple a richness and lightness of appearance scarcely equalled in the kingdom. The details of the tower are very good, and the whole church is deserving careful study."<sup>1</sup>

The central tower of the collegiate-church at HOWDEN is connected with the name of Skirlaw, of which we shall have again to make honourable mention; it is not only a magnificent tower but curious as having been erected as a refuge in time of floods, to which the low country in which it stands is still subject, and was once far more so.

The tower of ALL SAINTS, DERBY, has deservedly a very high reputation; it is late in the style, as is also the detached campanile at EVESHAM, which forms a part of so singular and elegant a group, with the two churches within the reach of its shadow. To these may be added S. PETER MANCROFT, NORWICH, as a fine specimen of flint building with stone panels.

But the most remarkable of our Perpendicular towers, both

<sup>1</sup> There are several Early English and Decorated octagons, but they rise from within parapets, or in the manner of a broach without the flying buttresses, and their character is very different.



in itself and for its influence on the ecclesiastical architecture of a large district, is that of GLOUCESTER, erected by Abbot Seabrook, about 1455.<sup>1</sup> This noble tower rises above two hundred feet from the ground, and about one hundred from the top of the roof of the choir. It consists of two lofty stories, each with two windows in each face, set within an elaborate system of buttresses, pediments, and panels, all of the richest description, and surmounted by a crenellated parapet, flanked by four turret-like pinnacles, all of delicate open work to the very finials. This upper portion of the tower is light and graceful almost beyond the natural capacity of stonework; and it is in this especially, though not exclusively, that Seabrook's noble tower has given the character to so many others. Some of the more important of these towers are to be found at GLASTONBURY, (S. John's,) S. STEPHEN, BRISTOL, and S. MARY, TAUNTON, with which last the tower of NORTH PETHERTON is associated by some resemblance of composition, and by a tradition that the same architect designed the two works. The peculiarity of these Somersetshire towers is, besides their rich parapet and pinnacles, the open stonework of the belfry windows, and the mode in which the stair turret is almost always made an ornamental external feature. They owe not a little of their beauty to the rich colour of the stone. Only a visitor of the west of England can have an adequate impression of the degree in which the whole country is studded with beautiful towers more or less of this character. Nor must it be supposed that they are to be found only, though chiefly in the district before-mentioned. TITCHMARSH, in Northamptonshire, is a good example in a distant county.

From the immediate subject of the towers and spires of the fifteenth century, it is at least a natural digression to the particular purposes which towers and spires have been made to serve.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the few examples of ancient fabrics with an historical inscription.—“Gloucester Cathedral tower, built by abbot Seabroke, the finishing of which he committed to Robert Tully one of the monks, afterwards Bishop of S. David's. The fact is still perpetuated in the following lines within the choir, over the great arch.

‘Hoc quod digestum specularis opus-  
que politum

Tullii hæc ex onere Seabroke abbate  
jubente.’

The name, motto, and arms of this abbot are still remaining in many of the bricks which formed the old pavement of the choir.”—Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 536, quoted from the Glossary,



This question in relation to a certain class of towers, is the subject of one of the most interesting, and decidedly the most learned ecclesiological works ever published, that of Mr. Petrie on the round towers of Ireland: these are clearly shown to have served the threefold purposes of *belfries*, of keeps or monastic *treasure houses*, and of *watch towers and beacons*, and to all these purposes we shall find the steeples of England frequently applied.

The use of towers for bells is indeed their primary and natural use, but of this we have spoken in a former chapter. We proceed to their remaining uses as beacons and landmarks<sup>1</sup> which could not but occur to the wayfaring man on land or by sea, and it is far from improbable that lights were sometimes kept burning in them, to make them more effective way-marks by night. Lingard gives a passage from Wolstan, in which he describes the tower of Winchester as serving these purposes to the traveller: though it does not seem to me to imply that the lights were kept burning: the *sine nocte dies* being only an hyperbolical way of expressing its height, as if the sun never set upon the gilded ball, and upon the cock which looked down

“Aureus ornatu grandis et intuitu”

on all beneath.

The passage is, however, so much to our purpose that I shall give it at length, calling especial attention to the happy expression of the traveller's joy on beholding the distant object.

“Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum,  
Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies.  
Turris ab axe micat, quo sol oriendo coruscat,  
Et spargit lucis spicula prima suæ.  
Stat super auratis virgæ fabricatio bullis,  
Aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.  
Luna coronato quoties radiaverit ortu,  
Alterum ab æde sacra surgit ad astra jubar.  
Si nocte inspiciat hunc prætereundo viator,  
Et terram stellas credit habere suas.

<sup>1</sup> The site of one of our finest Abbeys had its Saxon name from this important use. “*Streones-Halch*, (now Whitby) a compound Saxon word, signifying, as our Bede explains it, ‘*Sinus Phari*,’ or the headland of

the watch-tower. It seems probable that the headland of S. Hilda's Abbey was used in those early times, as it was likely to have been after its restoration, for a lighthouse to ships at sea.” —Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire.



Additur ad speciem, stat ei quod vertice Gallus  
 Aureus ornatu, grandis et intuitu.  
 Despicit omne solum, cunctis supereminet arvis,  
 Signiferi et Boreæ sidera pulchra videns.  
 Imperii sceptrum pedibus tenet ille superbis,  
 Stat super et cunctum Wintoniæ populum.  
 Imperat et cunctis evectus in aera gallis,  
 Et regit occiduum nobilis imperium.  
 Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique vintos,  
 Seque rotando suam præbet eis faciem.  
 Turbinis horrisonos suffertque viriliter ictus,  
 Intrepidus perstans, flabra, nives tolerans.  
 Oceano solem solus vidit ipse ruentem;  
 Auroræ primum cernit et hic radium.  
 A longe adveniens oculo vicinus adhæret,  
 Figit et adspectum dissociante loco;  
 Quo fessus rapitur visu mirante viator,  
 Et pede disjunctus, lumine junctus adest."

But let us pass on to instances still before our eyes.

The spire of WHITTLESEA on the broad fen of that name must have been a guide to many a wanderer. The spire of RAUNDS, though in a hilly country, yet peeping over the top of almost every eminence, and seen at a great distance, is still a landmark for a large district of Northamptonshire.<sup>1</sup> The woody country of Warwickshire, known as the forest of Arden, had its guide in the "LANTERN OF ARDEN" as the tall spire, now no more, of ASTLEY church was called. The three spires of Coventry in the same district, are still visible over the well wooded country for many miles. But the most important waymarks are certainly those which direct the sailor on the trackless sea. To him every headland marked by a distinct object is valuable, and this object is often a church tower (a spire very seldom) and there can be no doubt that many towers have been erected on such places, for that purpose.<sup>2</sup> Generally there is indeed no direct evidence that the towers which are

<sup>1</sup> In 1826 it was partly destroyed by lightning, and the subscriptions for its restoration were increased by its value to huntsmen as a landmark. A strange practical comment on the uses of spires!

<sup>2</sup> The author of Hierologus refers to

this use of towers.—"How often, for example, is a noble situation on a cliff chosen, that the erection may externally be a guide to mariners, as it is internally to those who are tossed upon the waves of this troublesome world! All along the Norfolk coast one has



turned to so good use were purposely adapted to it: but in some instances this has certainly been the case. The tower of DUNDY church, near Bristol, altogether disproportioned to its little church, occupies the summit of a high hill, and is visible far down the channel. It was erected by the merchants adventurer of Bristol.<sup>1</sup> The *beacon* intensified the value of a tower as a landmark, and also rendered it important in days in which intelligence was not otherwise so rapidly conveyed, as a means of communication between distant places, and of making signals, important to the peace and security of the realm. Of such beacons none is more remarkable than the lantern of ALL SAINTS PAVEMENT, YORK, which is an octagon erected upon the tower, like those of Lowick and Fotheringay, but much lighter; a large lamp used to hang in it, which served as a beacon to nocturnal travellers over the extensive forest of Galtres. A hook and pulley still remain,<sup>2</sup> by which the light is supposed to have been suspended. But the more usual beacon was a fire lighted in an iron framework, on the top of an angle turret. The turret is frequent enough, but I believe one example only of the fire pot remains, and this is at Hadleigh in Essex.<sup>3</sup>

examples of this use. Cromer church is a notable instance: so Boston 'Stump': so Patrington, in Yorkshire, a noble building, commands the entrance of the Humber, and is a famous beacon: so Westbourne, in Sussex: so S. Buryan, in Cornwall: so Paul, or S. Paulinus, as it should be called (in the same county, and near the last-named church,) where there seems a beacon-tower for kindling a light, should it be needed."

<sup>1</sup> See Hierologus, p. 305. It is one of those in which the character of Gloucester tower is followed. A stone in it is dated 1482. Hierologus relates an amusing tradition concerning it:—

"One architect is said to have built the towers of Chew Magna, and Chewton Mendip, and after these of Dundry; and this may be true. Tradition further reports him to have given

the last village its name, by exclaiming, on completing the tower, Now I have *done dree!*"

<sup>2</sup> 1813, Cave's Picturesque Buildings in York.

<sup>3</sup> The Cathedral of York also afforded till a comparatively recent period, a beacon of late erection on an interesting occasion. A little turret appeared which at an angle of the central tower was a beacon erected in 1666, by order of the Duke of Buckingham, to place lights in to alarm the country in case of an invasion from the Dutch and the French, with whom this country was then at war. In December 1803 this beacon was taken down, to make room for another kind of beacon, which was not however erected, to give notice of the expected invasion by the French.—See Browne's York.



We have still to mention the application of church towers to the *purposes of warfare*, defensive at the least, and these occur as might be expected, in greatest numbers in the unquiet districts, and among the numerous castellated edifices of the border country. At MELSONBY, near Gilling, in Yorkshire, where there was an important fortress, the tower, which is very large and massive, is divided in the centre by a strong but rough partition of stone work, so that assailants who had even entered the tower from the church, had yet another and much stronger fortification to pass, before they could reach those who had taken refuge within: and in the west wall is a peculiar little loop-hole, adapted for covert communication with the exterior. At MIDDLEHAM, the tower of the church has been fitted up apparently as a guard-room; there is a fire-place in one corner, and a look-out towards the castle of the Nevilles immediately adjoining. At the neighbouring church of SPENNITHORNE, several figures, which at a distance look like men on the watch, are placed on the battlements, so as to give to the tower an appearance of being garrisoned.<sup>1</sup> At HARLESTONE, in Northamptonshire, one stage immediately below the belfry is only approachable by a narrow gallery, which runs along the west end of the nave, and has singular and substantial fastenings on the inside, which could only be used for purposes of defence. At BEDALE, again, the tower is fitted up as a temporary residence. This need not however always have reference to defence. At IRTHLINGBOROUGH the octagon was divided by a floor into two stories, and each had its fire-place and other conveniences for habitation: it was probably part of the domestic offices of the college, erected at the same date. The very graceful octagon of STANWICK, which is open at all sides, and the approach to which is finished with more delicacy than is usual in portions of buildings out of sight, was possibly the *solarium*, or summer-house, which Robert de Lyn-desey, Abbot of Peterborough, (1214 to 1222,) is recorded to have built in that parish.<sup>2</sup>

I shall perhaps be excused if I conclude this account of the singular or accidental uses of steeples, by transcribing an expla-

<sup>1</sup> The same is the case on the bars of Micklegate and Bootham, and on Monk bar, York, (see Cave's Pictu-

resque Buildings of York,) buildings altogether military.

<sup>2</sup> See Gunton's Peterborough.



nation of a Kentish proverb from a book now something out of date, though once well known, and in which one would hardly look for so odd an ecclesiological morsel. Ray, in his "Proverbs," has the following.

"Tenterden steeple's the cause of Goodwin's Sands.

"This proverb is used when an absurd and ridiculous reason is given of anything in question; an account of the original whereof I find in one of Bishop Latimer's Sermons,<sup>1</sup> in these words: 'Mr. Moore was once sent with commission into Kent, to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin's Sands, and the shelf which stopped up Sandwich Haven. Thither cometh Mr. Moore, and calleth all the country before him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best satisfy him of the matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich Haven. Among the rest came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Mr. Moore saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter; for being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most in that presence, or company. So Mr. Moore called this old aged man unto him, and said, Father, tell me, if you can, what is the cause of the great arising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, which stop it up, so that no ships can arrive here. You are the oldest man I can espy in all the company, so that if any man can tell the cause of it, you of all likelihood can say most to it, or at leastwise more than any man here assembled.

"'Yea, forsooth, good Mr. Moore, (quoth this old man,) for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company anything near my age.

"'Well then, (quoth Mr. Moore,) how say you to this matter? What think you to be the cause of these shelves and sands, which stop up Sandwich Haven?

"'Forsooth, Sir, (quoth he,) I am an old man: I think that Tenter-ton steeple is the cause of Goodwin's Sands. For I am an old man, Sir, (quoth he,) I may remember the building of Tenter-ton steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenter-ton steeple was in building, there was no manner of talking of any flats or sands that stopped up the haven.'

"Thus far the Bishop. Fuller, however, remarks, 'That one story is good till another is told; and though this be all whereupon this proverb is generally grounded, I met since,' says he, 'with a supplement thereunto: it is this. Time out of mind money was constantly collected out of this county, to fence the east banks thereof against the irruptions of the sea,

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Latimer's Sermons are singularly full of touches interesting to the ecclesiologist.



and such sums were deposited in the hands of the Bishop of Rochester; but because the sea had been quiet for many years, without encroaching, the Bishop commuted this money to the building of a steeple, and endowing a church, at Tenterden. By this diversion of the collection for the maintenance of the banks, the sea afterwards brake in upon Goodwin's Sands. And now the old man had told a rational tale, had he found but the due favour to finish it: and thus sometimes that is causelessly accounted ignorance of the speaker, which is nothing but impatience in the auditors, unwilling to attend to the end of the discourse.'"

I am quite as much aware as the reader can be, of the desultory nature of the last few pages, but hope it may be excused in a work whose object it is to combine ecclesiological notes on several subjects, with the more continuous course of direct history. With this apology I proceed to a few of the principal church builders of these times.

## APPENDIX.

### *Extracts from the accounts for building Louth Broach.*

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | £.  | s. | d.  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-----|
| Page 2. Paid for stone and expenses at the quarrel to the broach.                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |    |     |
| Item, paid to John Chapman, merchant, William Johnson riding to the quarrel by four days, and other two men charing stone, and to William Nettleton in his expenses                                                                                    | 0   | 6  | 8   |
| Item, paid to William Johnson for his labour 12d. and his horshire 13d.                                                                                                                                                                                | 0   | 2  | 1   |
| Item, paid to the quarryn for stone at that time                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 0   | 40 | 0   |
| Item, paid William Nettleton, charing stone at the said quarrel to the broach                                                                                                                                                                          | 0   | 1  | 4   |
| Page 17. Memorandum, There is coming home stone to the broach, 10 score foot and 5, and to the gallery within the steeple, 40 foot grofts and 10 orbs.                                                                                                 |     |    |     |
| Page 26. Item, paid to William Nettleton, riding to the quarrell for to buy stone to the broach, and for to get a master mason, for to take charge of the said broach, by four days, 2s., and to John Miller for his horse-hire and his own cost, 20d. |     |    |     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | sum | 0  | 3 8 |



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | £. | s. | d.              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------|
| Page 27. For to make a Loch tolay stone in.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |    |                 |
| Paid to Robert Beverley for 6 bunch sewing rope .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0  | 0  | 5               |
| Also paid to Thomas Taylor for latts 200 and $\frac{1}{2}$ , 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.<br>nails, 6d., straw, 2s. 4d., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of wax, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., rosin,<br>1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. . . . . sum                                                                                               | 0  | 4  | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Also paid to William Thomas and William Palmer, levy-<br>ing the ground for to sett the broach upon, and re-<br>moving stone by three days, 2s. also for four load sand<br>gathering, 8d. . . . .                                                                                                                            | 0  | 2  | 8               |
| Page 28. Item, paid to the bailiff of Consby for toll, for stone<br>carriage in great for the broach by . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0  | 5  | 0               |
| Page 31. Item, also that Thomas Taylor paid to Robert<br>Peniston for lyme . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 0  | 12 | 0               |
| Item, winding up stone to the broach . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 0  | 6  | 0               |
| Item, paid to William Plumer by three days rolling up<br>lead . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 0  | 12 | 0               |
| Item, paid Good-Fryday to Maister Mason's man, mak-<br>ing mortar by 9 days . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 0  | 3  | 8               |
| Paid for the making.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |    |    |                 |
| Memorandum, that the Abbot of Louth Park gave one<br>yew-tree to it.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |    |    |                 |
| Item, paid to the said Abbot for one tree . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 0  | 3  | 4               |
| Item, paid for felling of them 4d., and to William John-<br>son one load, 6d., and Robert English gave t'other<br>load.                                                                                                                                                                                                      |    |    |                 |
| John Harrison, smith, for one pully shife of brass, 16d.,<br>for Spanish iron, 2s.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |    |    |                 |
| Page 38. Memorandum, that the said accomptants has bor-<br>rowed to the building of the broach, of the alderman<br>and brethren of our lady Gyld, and the com'onty shall<br>pay to the said Gyld again, as it appears in the ac-<br>compt book of our Lady Gyld . . . . .                                                    | 6  | 13 | 4               |
| Also that the said accomptants has received of William<br>Johnson and Richard Brough, Deans of our Lady Gyld,<br>by the assent of the alderman and brethren of the said<br>Gyld, for to buy stone to the broach, as it appears in<br>their accompt, sum 40s., the which sum was borrowed<br>of our Lady Hock for to buy wax. |    |    |                 |
| And the said accomptants by the assent of the com'onty,<br>has laid to pledge to the said alderman and brethren<br>the best chalice, belonging to the high altar, the which<br>chalice lays in Trinity hutch.                                                                                                                |    |    |                 |
| Page 64. That the said accomptants has borrowed of the<br>alderman and brethren of our Lady Gyld this year, to<br>the building of the broach . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                       | 4  | 4  | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | £. | s. | d.              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------|
| Which sum was paid of the arrears of William Watson,<br>Dean of the brotherhood, as it appears in our Lady<br>books, An. Dom. 1503, and paid by the hands of John<br>Chapman, merchant . . . . .                                                                                 | 4  | 4  | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Page 74. Memorandum, that the com'onty of this town,<br>oweth to master alderman George Fitzwilliams, Esq.,<br>and brother of this Gyld, as it appears the year afore,<br>to the building of the broach, the which belongs to<br>our lady Gyld . . . . . sum                     | 36 | 8  | 8               |
| The which the said com'onty has laid to pledge to the<br>said master alderman and brethren two silver crosses,<br>one of their best chalices, and their silver pax.                                                                                                              |    |    |                 |
| Page 85. In the first for 17 load square pieces of Hazle-<br>brough stone . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0  | 38 | 0               |
| Also for 10 load of Willsforth square pieces . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 0  | 20 | 0               |
| Also for 54 foot crokytts, price 1 foot, 2d. . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 0  | 38 | 4               |
| Also paid to Nicholas Brancell, for 100 foot achlere, and<br>squiches of 18 inches high, and 15 at the least, price<br>the foot 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. . . . .                                                                                                                       | 0  | 25 | 0               |
| Lawrence, and William, and Christopher Scune, master<br>masons from 1505—6 to 1515.                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |    |                 |
| Page 187. 1510, paid to Lawrence and William master ma-<br>son, Christopher Scune his prentice.                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |    |                 |
| Page 111. Paid to Christopher Scune, master mason, making<br>molds to the broach, by two days, the Sunday after<br>Easter . . . . .                                                                                                                                              | 0  | 0  | 16              |
| Page 119. Memorandum, that Master George Fitzwilliam bor-<br>rowed of the said accomptants belonging to the kirk,<br>100 wt. of web lead, 1 qr. $\frac{1}{2}$ and 6lb.; also borrowed<br>another time 100 wt. old lead, and $\frac{1}{2}$ and 7lb. of the<br>same Kirk of Louth. |    |    |                 |
| Page 124. Gifts given when the first stone was set of the<br>broach by diverse men.                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |    |                 |
| Item, received of the gift of George Fitzwilliam, Gent.                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 0  | 0  | 20              |
| Item, received of John White, priest, for old timber<br>taken off the highest floor within the steeple . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                 | 0  | 16 | 0               |
| Page 128. Paid first Sunday after Easter to Christopher<br>Scune, master mason, for half a year, being fee the<br>year afore . . . . .                                                                                                                                           | 0  | 10 | 0               |
| Also paid to the said master in a reward for . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 0  | 10 | 0               |
| Item, Hugh Smith, three days, 12d., &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |    |                 |
| Item, paid sawing stone by eleven tonn . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 0  | 7  | 4               |
| Page 178. Item, paid for great cable to wind up stone 23,4<br>fathom, bought at Lynn . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | 16 | 4               |
| Carriage by water to Ingoldmells . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 0  | 3  | 0               |



£. s. d.

And for a man wages and cost, 2s., and carrying to Louth, 16d., bell string, 11d., a tub, 4d., a spade, 4d., shovel, 1d.

Page 179. Paid for nether scaffolds of the broach and middle scaffolds.

Item, for eight pieces, 8d., and for middle scaffolds, two pieces going through, 16d., eight smaller liggers, 4d., weighing wood, 4d., four trees, 12d., nine pieces liggering aboon trees, 4d., four sparrs, 2s., two pieces over scaffold, 19d., four sparrs, 12d., raising tree and beam, 10d.

Page 203. Memorandum, Thomas Alderton paid Mr. Riggs, Bailiff of Consby, for toll as long as the broach is in hand, and to it be ended, as appears by a bill of his own hand, which bill is lying in the com'on hutch

0 10 0

Latts, 2d., Dodington stone kirk style

0 0 2

Page 235. Five strike lyme, 7d., strike charcoal, 2d., key for the west kirk door, 4d.

Page 264. Paid Lawrence Mason for riding to his master in north country for to spure<sup>1</sup> him whether he would make end of the broach, and he said he would deal no more with it, but he showed his councel, sum

0 6 8

William Walker and Lawrence Mason riding to Boston to speak with master Mason to make end of broach

0 2 0

Page 300. Memorandum, that the said broach was 15 years setting up, which cost as appears afore.

Page 266. Memorandum, the 15th Sunday after Holy Trinity of this year (1515) the weathercock was set upon the broach of Holy Rood Eve after, there being William Ayleby, parish priest, with many of his brethren priests there present, hallowing the said weathercock, and the stone that it stands upon, and so conveyed upon the said broach; and then the said priests singing Te Deum Laudamus with organs, and then the kirkwardens garred ring all the bells, and caused all the people there being to have bread and ale, and all the loving of GOD, our lady, and all saints. And the said Thomas Bradley lived after by five years.

Memorandum, that Thomas Bradley, mercer, said that he might mean well, and saw the first stone set upon the said steeple, and also the last stone upon the said

<sup>1</sup> ? Speer, ask.



£. s. d.

broach. And also Agnes, the wife of Robert English Barker, said the same with many more.

Memorandum, that the steeple is in length, from the ground to the highest stone of the broach by the king's yard, 18 score feet, and great measure shewed by master mason and his brethren.

Memorandum, that Thomas Taylor, draper, gave the weathercock, which was bought in York of a great baron, and made at Lincoln: and the king of the Scotts brought the same baron into England with him.

Good money and evil money.

Page 268. Memorandum, cost and charges of the broach by

15 years, 14 score and £8. and 3s. . 288 3 0

And also this year ending and paid diverse men . 17 4 5

Sum, 15 score pounds and 5 seven shillings and fourpence . 305 7 5

Page 177. Paid for Bells.

To Oliver Whitaker, sen. to the bell-founder, Nottingham . 0 40 0

Item, paid to the said Oliver, in full payment and payments in any condition which belongs to his said master, as appears by a indenture and obligation which he broke and cancelled . 3 0 20

Also paid Palmer taking diverse suits at London, of bell-founder of Nottingham, for because he would not deliver three new bells . 0 19 0

Page 181. Memorandum, the weight of three bells in Louth.

Item, the 1st, the least bell called John Weyner . Cwt. qr. 13 1

Item, the middle bell 15 cwt.  $\frac{1}{2}$  except 9lb. . Cwt. lbs. 15 47

Item, the great bell called Stella Mariæ, weigheth 18 cwt. except 12lb. . 17 44

The best bell-clapper weigheth a quarter of cwt. and 12lb. . 0 40

The middle bell-clapper, a quarter of cwt. and 16lb. . 0 44

The great bell-clapper,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. and 6lb. . 0 62

Memorandum, that the three new bells weighed heavier than the three old bells in metal, which bell-getter



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| had in money, £7 8s. which was borrowed of Trinity hutch, as appears by accompts there.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |    |    |
| Page 91. Paid for making three new bells to Nottingham bell-getter.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |    |    |
| Paid for three indentures making betwixt this town and the said bell-getter . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0  | 4  | 0  |
| Paid William Foster riding to the said bell-getter to Nottingham, to see the bells casting, his expences . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 0  | 4  | 0  |
| Paid Thomas Wright and Robert Burnet, carrying two of the said bills to Bracebridge, besides Lincoln . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| Item, carrying the first bell to Bracebridge . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 0  | 0  | 8  |
| Riding to Nottingham for the said bells, by six days . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | 4  | 4  |
| Item, carrying said three bells from Bracebridge to Louth, two loads . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | 9  | 4  |
| Making three bell clappers . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 0  | 14 | 0  |
| Paid to — Hardy, for carrying the rope from Saltfleet Haven to Louth . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | 0  | 6  |
| Page 162. Paid in expences to them that carried two new bells from Nottingham to Louth . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 0  | 0  | 8  |
| Item, paid to John Spencer for an obligation making . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 0  | 0  | 4  |
| Page 286. Paid to the bell-founder of Nottingham part of a more sum for casting Trinity bell . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| Paid Robert Goldsmith riding to Nottingham for Trinity bell . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0  | 0  | 20 |
| Paid to Thomas Wayt and Richard Mason, keeping the clock and winding up the chime plumb . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 0  | 6  | 8  |
| Paid him for keeping the chimes . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 0  | 3  | 4  |
| Paid to John Bradfull cleaning the kirk above and beneath by the whole year . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0  | 3  | 4  |
| Paid to Jannet Pattington washing cloaths to the high altar by the whole year . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Page 17. Memorandum, that William Chapman, clockmaker of Kirby by Baine, has taken this clock this year, of his own cost and charges; and the said William, shall have the two years after this year, and every year after of the kirkgraves, 2s. a year, he to take all manner charges of this same clock, during as long as he may ride and go, except that the kirkgraves shall pay for wire and timber work. |    |    |    |
| Page 22. Received of Master John Chapman, merchant, paid by his own son to the building of the broach above the steeple in gold, sum . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 20 | 0  | 0  |
| Page 35. Memorandum, that George Smith, merchant, bought one pair organs beyond the sea, and the said George sold them the com'onty of this town of Louth,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |    |    |    |



£. s. d.

for £13 6s. 8d. In the first they paid him £10. the which, master Thomas Barrow gave to the said com'onty, and parson of the said town being then dead, &c., &c., &c.

Page 163. Paid making a coffer for pricksong books by the door side in our Lady Quire; making a cross for candle of timber ewyns; and for setting up the Flemish organ in the roodloft, by four days .

0 0 20



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PERPENDICULAR PERIOD.

ARCHBISHOP CHICHELE: HIGHAM-FERRERS, THE COLLEGE AND BEDE HOUSE; S. BARNARD'S, OXFORD; THE LOLLARD'S TOWER, LAMBETH. BISHOP SKIRLAW: SKIRLAW CHAPEL; THE TOWER OF YORK; THE TOWER AND CHAPTER-HOUSE OF HOWDEN; SKIRLAW'S BURIAL AND TOMB. — SEPULCHRAL CHAPELS: BISHOP WAINFLEET; CARDINAL BEAUFORT; BISHOPS ALCOCK AND WEST; WILLIAM COMYNGE AND S. MARY REDCLIFF.—WILLIAM GREVILLE, AND CAMPDEN CHURCH.—ANTHONY CATESBY AND ISABELLA HIS WIFE, AND WHISTON CHURCH.—S. MICHAEL'S-LE-BELFRY, YORK. — DETERIORATION IN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER. — THE TUDOR STYLE; CHAPEL OF HENRY VII. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

As might be expected the names of the greater masters in building, whether as patrons or architects, are more frequently found in existing records as we approach the present day. Among the first of these may be mentioned ARCHBISHOP CHICHELE, whose name is happily associated with that of William of Wykeham, the great master of his age on such matters as come within the subject of this history. Henry Chichele was born at Higham-Ferrers,<sup>1</sup> in Northamptonshire, where he is reported to have attracted the favourable notice of Wykeham, as he kept his father's sheep. He was afterwards one of the fellows on Wykeham's foundation at Oxford, and successively rector of Brington, in 1400, chancellor of Sarum, Bishop of S. David's, 1409, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414 to 1443. During this long period he was greatly in the favour of the Prince, and as an ecclesiastical politician at least, he deserved well of his countrymen; for when he perceived that the revenues of the Church were endangered by the poverty of the Crown, he directed the attention

<sup>1</sup> A brass, consisting of a very elegant cross, in Higham-Ferrers church, no doubt designed and placed there by the Archbishop, marks the spot of the

burial of his parents. See No. 1, of the "Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton."



of Henry V. to the claims of his progenitors to the crown of France, and the Church of England escaped while the realm of France was desolated. But he is mentioned here for his foundations at Oxford, and in his native town, and also for his works at his archiepiscopal palace. At Higham-Ferrers he founded a college for secular priests, which he endowed with large revenues: he built also in the same town a hospital for poor people, which he likewise endowed liberally. At Oxford, he founded Bernard's, now S. John's College, and All Souls', "which yet continueth," says Bishop Godwin, (1601) "in such state as he left the same, one of the fairest and seemliest of our university." When he took possession of his palace at Lambeth, he found it grievously desolated by the mob, who during the insurrection of Wat Tyler, had murdered Archbishop Sudbury, and plundered the palace, burning whatever books and vestments they could lay hold on. Archbishop Arundel had done much to repair the damage, and Chichele prosecuted his repairs, and made several additions to the palace. He rebuilt the hall with great magnificence.<sup>1</sup> But the most remarkable addition to the palace of Lambeth made by Chichele, is the "LOLLARD'S TOWER," so called because it contains the prison in which heretics were kept while under the charge of the Archbishop. This tower cost "£278 2s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Each item of the expense is set down in the *computus ballivorum*, or steward's accounts of the year. By these it appears, every foot in height, including the whole circumference, cost 13s. 4d. for the work. The iron-work used about the windows and doors amounted to 1322 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. in weight, at three halfpence per pound, and cost £10 14s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; and three thousand bricks were used for stopping the windows between the chapel and the tower. On the west side was a tabernacle or niche made, in which was placed the image of S. Thomas, which image cost 13s. 4d. A bricklayer's and a tiler's wages were then by the day, with victuals, 4d., without victuals, 6d. or 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; a labourer's with victuals,

<sup>1</sup> It was however again destroyed by Scott, one of the regicides, in 1648, and gave occasion to the munificence of Archbishop Juxon, who rebuilt the hall at the cost of £10,500, and though

he did not occupy the throne three full years laid out in repairs £14,847. 7s. 10d. See Brayley and Herbert's concise account of Lambeth.



3d., without victuals, 3½d. But most of this tower was done by the gross, as the computers call it, or the great."

Chichele died in 1443, and was buried in a fine tomb of alabaster, which he had erected during his life, at the south side of the presbytery of Canterbury cathedral.<sup>1</sup> As this is a fair specimen of the sepulchral architecture of that day, I will transcribe the description of it from Winkles' Cathedrals.

"It exhibits his effigy robed in pontifical vestments, the minutiae of which, as the pall, ring, jewels, &c., are studiously expressed; the hands, as usual, are joined and elevated, and the pastoral staff lying between his right arm and body is surmounted by a cross patee. At his head are attendant angels, and at his feet two kneeling monks with books open before them. The sides of the tomb, or table, are pierced with arches disclosing a cadaver. Over the tomb is a flat canopy resting on two piers, each having three faces and a double tier of niches, once containing figures of the twelve Apostles."<sup>2</sup>

Contemporary with Wykeham and Chichele was Walter Skirlaw, successively bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1385, of Bath and Wells, 1386, and of Durham, 1388 to 1406. He was born in a little village of his own name, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, before the middle of the fourteenth century. Like Chichele, and indeed most other great men whose names occur in this history, his affections reverted, on his elevation, to his native place, which he enriched about the close of the reign of Richard II. with a chapel which has found admirers, notwithstanding its remote situation, ever since the revival of ecclesiastical art among us.<sup>3</sup> Its character, as claiming notice in a general history, is that of decided Perpendicular, though so early in the style; and it must be added that it presents features which certainly verge on the much deteriorated character of a century later; the roof is of low pitch and is concealed by a crenellated parapet, and the porch is poor and also finished with the like parapet: the parapet of the tower is elegant in outline, but meagre in details.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin.

<sup>2</sup> "The society of All Souls' College have recently rescued this monument from a state of decay, and

restored its pristine exuberancy of decoration."

<sup>3</sup> It is described and figured in the "Churches of Yorkshire."



Skirlaw's reputation rests, however, on greater works than this. For an enumeration of them we are beholden to William de Chambre, the Latin chronicler of the church of Durham, who tells us that "he built the bridge of Shincliffe, and the bridge of Yarm; for which latter he purchased certain lands, which he afterwards gave for the repairs of the said bridge: he built also the bridge at Auckland, and he raised the great stone gateway at Auckland, from the foundation to the top-stone at his proper charges. He built also the great bell tower of Howden, (*campanile de Houldon*,) in the county of York, which he caused to be made of a great size, (*summæ magnitudinis*,) that it might afford a place of refuge to the people of Howden, if there should chance a great inundation of their town. He laid out also vast sums in the repair of the said church; and he erected an exquisitely beautiful chapter-house (*domum capitularem perpulchram*) adjoining the same church. He built also the manor house of Howden, and laid out besides considerable sums in the buildings on the said manor. He also constructed a great part of the bell tower or lantern, as it is commonly called, of the Minster Church of York, and placed his arms in the centre of the work. (*Magnam partem campanilis, vulgo lantern, Ministerii Eboracensis construxit, in medio cujus operis arma sua posuit.*)<sup>1</sup> There also did he found a chantry, on the south angle of the cross of the said church, where he endowed a chantry priest for the perpetual celebration of the mass for his soul. He expended six hundred pounds in the erection of the cloisters in the monastery of Durham. He gave moreover three hundred and thirty marks towards the erection of the dormitory, and to the construction of the cloisters his executors gave three hundred pounds, he himself having already given two hundred. And on all these buildings he placed his arms, viz., six osiers interlaced after the manner of a sieve (*6 virgas vicissim flexatas, in forma crebri.*)"

Of these works, by far the chief as indicating the taste and

<sup>1</sup> This is not strictly true. Bishop Skirlaw made a considerable bequest for the building of the lantern of York, which was in progress at his death, but it was far from sufficient to fur-

nish a large proportion of the requisite funds; nor did he himself place his arms there: they are over one of the great tower arches, which were not completed till after his death.



munificence of the Bishop, are the tower and chapter-house of Howden.<sup>1</sup> The tower is most remarkable for its grandeur, the chapter-house for its extreme lightness and for its elaborate finish. Both, of course, are of pure Perpendicular. The chapter-house is an octagon, and scarcely a stone in it is without enrichment. The tower rises in two lofty stages from the centre of the cross, the first, or lantern stage, being of double windows on each side, twice transomed, and of such height, as to give extreme lightness to the whole, as well as a most singular effect. The upper story is of more ordinary character.

Skirlaw died in 1406, and is buried on the north side of the choir of Durham, between two piers, before the altar of S. Blaise, (which was afterwards called Skirlaw's altar,) beneath a marble stone, curiously wrought, and adorned with many splendid images in brass, with his own effigy elaborately wrought in brass, in the midst of the tomb. Upon his breast is this inscription: "*Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in die novissimo de terra surrecturus sum et in carne videbo Deum Salvatorem meum.*" And all around the tomb is erected a high iron lattice (*clatrum*) of curious workmanship, within which daily mass was said for his soul: and right opposite the tomb, on the north side, there was constructed a stone bench of the length of the space between the two piers, (*sedile lapideum longitudine columnarum distans*,) all along which his arms are placed repeated in a row.<sup>2</sup>

This honourable place of sepulture Bishop Skirlaw had secured to himself before his death, as appears from the following licence granted by the prior and brethren of Durham to Bishop Skirlaw, to be buried within the church, which I transcribe for the light which it throws on the character of the times.

"To the Most Reverend Father in CHRIST, and Lord Walter by the grace of GOD Bishop of Durham, his most devoted son, John the prior, and the convent of the church of Durham, obedience, reverence, and honour, with the most perfect mind to do his pleasure! O most Reverend

<sup>1</sup> The collegiate church of Howden is figured in the Monastic Remains of Yorkshire. The tower has been recently restored, and the lantern opened

under the auspices of the Yorkshire Architectural Society.

<sup>2</sup> The arms of Skirlaw are twelve times repeated, in quatrefoils.



Father and Lord, we are bound by the institutes and precept of our order earnestly to supplicate the LORD in behalf of our benefactors, that they may receive, for the benefit which they have conferred on us upon earth, eternal rewards in heaven: and contemplating with the internal eyes of our minds, the many and great signs of your paternal affection, which your most evident love towards us has displayed; in that you have often relieved our want out of the means which GOD has given to you; in that you have rescued our college at Oxford from decay and destruction; in that you have largely added precious vestments and ornaments to our church; and above all in that you have most liberally expended of your wealth in the construction of a dormitory, especially appropriated to our comfort, we should ourselves be obliged to remember you of all persons in our prayers.

“Wherefore, although all your honourable predecessors have been buried, according to ancient custom, in our chapter-house, (four only excepted, whose bodies are buried in the church, in token of our special affection,) that ever hereafter when we shall stand to pray in the choir we may the more retentively hold the recollection of you and of your benefits, we will and concede, that after you have gone to your rest, your soul being called away to the LORD, your body may be buried on the north side of our choir, in the spot which you have already chosen, in full sight of our eyes: that while we see your monument we may be incited to pray that you may receive abundantly of the favour of GOD, saying devoutly, ‘Ejus in pace cum Domino anima requiescat, qui pro nostra requie corporali divitias suas habundantes effundere consuevit.’ In witness whereof, our common seal is affixed to these presents. Given in our chapter-house this sixth day of January, in the year of our LORD one thousand four hundred and four.”<sup>1</sup>

One other monument of those times, connected with the burial of Bishop Skirlaw, we must translate, and we are sure it will be with the good will of the curious reader.

“Instrument concerning the hearse [vereda<sup>2</sup>] and horses, with the whole of the furniture left [liberati] to the sacristan of Durham, for the mortuary of Walter, Bishop of Durham.

“In the Name of GOD, Amen. Know all men by these presents, that in the year from the Incarnation of our LORD, according to the reckoning of the Church of England, one thousand four hundred and six, on the seventh of May, the Reverend Masters, Thomas Wiston, Archdeacon of

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the original document in Surtees Society’s Hist. Dunelm. Script. tres. Appendix No. clxxii.

<sup>2</sup> In a former instrument of the like

kind touching Bishop Hatfield’s funeral, it is called “una vereda, anglice j charyot.”



Durham, Richard Holme, John Hildyard, clerks, and Peter de la Hay, executors, as was declared of the Lord Walter Skirlawe, of happy memory, late Bishop of Durham, deceased, with his late household, brought and caused to be brought the body of the said Lord Walter deceased, to the cathedral church of Durham, to be committed to Christian burial in the same, in one 'chare,' [hearse] with five great horses drawing it to the said cathedral church; and that when the body had been thus brought, and placed in the said cathedral church, in the said 'chare,' they took his body from the said 'chare,' and carried and bore it into the said cathedral church. Which being done, Brother Thomas Rome, a religious, a monk, and a professed of the foresaid cathedral church, and appointed to the office of sacristan of the said cathedral church, claimed the said 'chare' and the said five horses drawing it, with all the furniture to them pertaining, as of accustomed right due and belonging to the said cathedral church, and to him in the name of the same, as the mortuary of the said Lord Walter; and so took the said 'chare,' with the said five horses, and ordered that the said 'chare' should be left in the said cathedral church by his servants, and that the said five horses should be led to the Abbey of Durham: and of the said 'chare' and of the said five horses be ordered and disposed at his pleasure, the said executors knowing that all and singular the premises were so done by brother Thomas, and suffering it, and not gainsaying, as was at that time evidently seen of me the undersigned notary; and there were present also men of credit, Richard Rypon and Thomas Roose, clerks of the diocese of Durham, and many others, in great numbers, who were especially called to witness of the premises, and I, Thomas de Ryhall, clerk of the diocese of Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> &c."

One would have thought that the tomb so humbly desired by the Bishop, and so lovingly granted by the prior and convent of Durham; so richly adorned with appropriate devices, and so fondly described by the historian; above all, consecrated by so many virtues of him who lay beneath it, might have been spared by the spoiler's hand: but, alas! vain were the reputation of men, though the noblest of their race, were it only committed

"Saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quæ  
Discutienda valent sterilis mala robora ficus;  
Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris."<sup>2</sup>

The barren fig-tree of Juvenal is too sad a type in more ways

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the original instrument in the Surtees Collection, Appendix No. clxx.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal, Sat. x.



than one of our desecraters of churches, and subverters of sacred monuments. The imagery and fine carved work of Durham cathedral fell under the charge of Dean Whittingham, a zealous iconoclast, who married Calvin's sister, and Skirlaw's effigies and brasses are gone with the rest.

But we are passing out of the age of TOMBS, into that of SEPULCHRAL CHAPELS. The tomb had been getting more and more gorgeous from the first, until it became a lofty fabric, adorned with panels, and niches and figures, with a splendidly painted effigy reposing on it, the head supported by priests or angels, and the feet resting on a lion, or some other animal, while a gorgeous canopy, with its crockets and foliations spired above it. Even this, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the desire of future great men to be honoured in their obsequies; and the canopy was expanded into a chapel, within the walls of the church, with its separate altar and chaplain. This was a grievous infringement on the true uses of a church, as well as on the proportions and general effect of the interior of our cathedrals, though there is nothing within the reach of architectural elaboration, to compare with the beautiful structures thus consecrated to the memory of the departed.

Perhaps none of these exceed in beauty the chapels of Bishop Wainfleet, and of Cardinal Beaufort, in Winchester Cathedral, and those of Bishops Alcock<sup>1</sup> and West,<sup>2</sup> at the ends of the north and south aisles of the choir of Ely Cathedral. Both of these last are in the richest Tudor style, the latter with minute but very decided indications of the approach of the cinque cento.<sup>3</sup>

From this digression upon sepulchral memorials we return to the more general subject, and having adduced the greater names of history, descend to the works of less illustrious individuals,

<sup>1</sup> Anno 1501.

<sup>2</sup> Anno 1534.

<sup>3</sup> As it is almost the last example of the kind we shall meet with, I will give the clause of Bishop West's will relative to his monument.

"To be buried in my cathedral church of Ely, in the middle of a chaple by me newly erected, on the

south side the chaple, and a convenient stone of marble to be laid upon me, with this writing only:—'Of your charitie pray for the soule of Nicolas West, Bishop of this see, and for all Christian soules; for the whiche prayer he hath graunted to every persone so doying, fourty daies pardon for every tyme that they shall so pray.'"



though not far from the glory of men more elevated in rank and office, if their deeds be taken for their heraldry. Of these works of private munificence, three deserve especial mention. The churches of S. MARY REDCLIFF, Bristol, of CAMPDEN, in Gloucestershire, and of WHISTON, in Northamptonshire.

The first, which is among the most glorious monuments in the kingdom of an individual's liberality, and of an architect's skill, was erected by William Canynge,<sup>1</sup> merchant, and mayor of Bristol, in 1445, in which year the old structure had been greatly damaged by a storm.<sup>2</sup> Two beautiful monumental brasses in this church commemorate the pious merchant and his wife.

The church of S. James, Campden, was rebuilt between 1380 and 1401, by William Greville, woolstapler, who is buried in the

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to note, however, that the popular history of this church, in assigning the whole to William Canynge, does him more than justice, as at once appears from its several features. The church was founded in 1294, by Simon de Burton, Mayor of Bristol, and of his foundation, with several intermediate additions, portions still remain. It is thus described by Mr. Rickman:—

“This magnificent church contains so much of valuable composition, that it ranks quite as a cathedral, or collegiate church. Though not very well seen, its west and south sides are tolerably open. Some parts of the building on the outside are decayed, others are in good preservation. It consists of a series of portions from Early English to middle Perpendicular, with the styles considerably mixed and sliding into each other. The lower part of the tower is the oldest part, then the very rich north porch, and then the church; the Lady chapel, now a school, seems the latest of all. The Early English portion is very good, the composition of the upper part of the tower very fine, and though the spire has only about the lower one-third remaining, it gives some idea of

what its effect would be if complete. The north porch is singular, but very beautiful, and of pure Decorated character. The windows of the church are mostly Perpendicular, but the details of many of the piers, arches, and some other parts, are more like Decorated than Perpendicular, and other parts show a transition from one style to the other. The nave is very narrow, and this, added to the pewing, and the fine east window being blocked up by some paintings by Hogarth, takes away much from the general effect of the interior, which is, however, rendered fine by the loftiness of the proportions, and the excellence of the groinings, which are complete all over the building.”

<sup>2</sup> This church is connected with literary history by the fact that Chatterton pretended to have found his ancient MSS. in a box in the muniment room, over the north porch; to the ecclesiologist it has another interest, since the publication of Professor Willis' *Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages*, for the description of the several mouldings in the west door of this church, by William of Worcester, affords a great part of the basis of that work.



chancel, where there is a fine brass representing him and his wife.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the most beautiful parish churches of moderate dimensions in the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

The third instance of private beneficence is recorded in the windows of Whiston church, dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, Northamptonshire, from which the following inscription may be collected :

“Orate pro . . . Antonii Catesby, Armigeri, et Isabelle uxoris ejus Domini . . . Johannis Junioris generosi ejusdem Antonii . . . qui quidem Antonius, Isabella, et Johannes hanc ecclesiam condiderunt . . . quingentesimo tricesimo quarto.” [1534.]

This then is one of the very last of the churches erected before the Reformation ; and we may well marvel at the warm-hearted and firm faith in the stability of the Church, which could encourage men to build such edifices at such a time ; and truly the exercise of this faith is well rewarded in the perpetuity of the Church and her offices, notwithstanding the troubles of an age of licence, of violence, and of sacrilege, so that the parish church of each little village, and the noble cathedral of each city, (with few exceptions in either case,) still commemorate the piety of the sons of the same Holy Mother, are still devoted to the service of the same Most Holy God, and are bonds of fellowship between the children and their fathers, while in some respects the chain of unity seems broken to outward show, and has really suffered a grievous wrench. May we, in like troublous times, if they come, have like confidence ; and meanwhile let us show that our purer faith is not less fruitful in good works, both by humility at our own neglect, by charity in acknowledging the greater beneficence of our forefathers, and by zeal to emulate them.

The chief constructive features of Whiston church are the very slender pillars, supporting four-centred arches of greatly depressed form, and the very flat roof, without a clerestory :

<sup>1</sup> Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> It has one peculiarity which it shares with Tickhill, in Yorkshire, a very fine church of about the same date, so far as the nave and chancel are concerned. There is a window (a kind

of clerestory) above the chancel arch, looking over the chancel roof. The effect is not good in itself, and it indicates the use of a low-pitched roof, which we begin to find too often.



its aisles carried nearly to the end of the chancel, give the latter feature a very meagre aspect: and this and the flat roofs together make the whole look almost like a wooden church. It may perhaps be worth noting that great use is made in the tower of a means of decoration, not uncommon in the same district:—the laying of stones of different colours in several courses.<sup>1</sup>

Although there were other edifices in course of erection, even at the time of the Reformation, yet perhaps there is none whose absolute completion may be assigned to a later date than that of S. MICHAEL-LE-BELFRY, York, which was commenced in 1535, and finished in 1545, by the Chapter of York, out of the excess of income, after the choir of the cathedral was finished. This church has the same defects with that at Whiston.

Indeed we are constrained to confess that the character of ecclesiastical architecture was by this time greatly deteriorated: that in their constructive features the churches of this age are inferior to all since the Norman gave way before the pointed arch; and that to descend to smaller matters, even in the most splendid buildings, or perhaps in these chiefly, there was a meretricious excess of decoration, which failed to produce the higher kind of beauty so visible in the enrichments of buildings of similar relative importance in all the preceding styles. In the midst of great and well-deserved admiration of the science displayed in the vaulting of the larger churches of this age, and of the lightness, the filigree effect of the whole, this would probably be the *practical* judgment of every competent authority. Whether we should revert for our best models to the pure Early English, to the Geometric, or flowing Decorated, or to the Perpendicular of the first half of the fifteenth century, may admit a doubt; but there can be no doubt that the chapels of Alcock or West at Ely, of S. George's, Windsor, King's College, Cambridge, or Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, are both practically and æsthetically the last that we ought to imitate.

In these and some other edifices there is a certain well-marked character, which renders it necessary to distinguish them from

<sup>1</sup> Among other examples of this are Husband's Bosworth tower (early Decorated), Irchester tower (Decorated), and the Bede house at Higham Ferrers (Perpendicular).



the pure Perpendicular, and the name TUDOR, though it would in strictness of chronology exclude some buildings commenced in the reign of Henry VI. which ought not to be excluded, and would include many built under Elizabeth, which have no title to be included, is perhaps as convenient as any : at all events, it is generally received, and well understood, which is sufficient to ensure its continued use.

I shall only attempt an historic notice of one example of this sub-style. The Lady Chapel, commonly called Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster,<sup>1</sup> which Leland calls *orbis miraculum*, and which every one must admit to be the most gorgeous building in the kingdom, was commenced by the Monarch whose name it bears, as a sepulchral chapel as well for himself and his queen, as for Henry VI. whose canonization he endeavoured to procure, and whose remains he intended to translate thither, from the convent of Chertsey where they reposed.<sup>2</sup>

The laying of the first stone is recorded with all particulars by Holinshed :—

“An. Reg. 18; 1503. In this eighteenth year, the twentieth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after noone of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Islip, abbat of the same monasterie, Sir Reginald Braie, knight of the garter, doctor Barnes, maister of the rolles, doctor Wall, chapleine to the king's maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham, chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond, the kings mother, sir Edmund Stanhope, knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingraven : ‘Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, posuit hanc petram, in honore beatae virginis Mariæ, 24 die Januarij ; anno Domini, 1502 : et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi decimo octauo.’ The charges whereof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they say) to foureteene thousand pounds.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have followed throughout the account in Neale's History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> It seems somewhat doubtful whe-

ther the removal of Henry VI. actually took place.

<sup>3</sup> To obtain a site for this royal edifice, the Lady Chapel, founded by Henry III. in 1220 ; a chapel dedi-



Stowe adds, that "the stone for this work (as I have been informed) was brought from Huddlestone quarrie, in Yorkshire; but this is by no means a sufficient account of the care taken to procure materials, and to adapt them to their particular places and uses in the fabric." During the investigation relating to the state of this Chapel, before the Committee of Taste, at the deanery, on the 3rd of February, 1808, it was stated by the abbey mason, that "Kentish rag-stone was used in the foundation; Kentish stone, from near Maidstone, in the plinth; Huddlestone stone, from Yorkshire, in the corbels or springing pieces to the flying buttresses; Caen stone, from Normandy, in the superstructure: and Ryegate stone, from Surrey, in the screens to the north-east and south-east chapels." The Bath stone, with which the late restoration has been made, belongs to that class of calcareous free-stones, included by geologists under the denomination of the *Great Oolite*; it is extremely soft in the quarry, but hardens on exposure to the air; though it may still be wrought in any direction with great facility.

As is almost invariably the case, the name of the original designer of this splendid fabric thus commenced is unknown. The merit has been given to Sir Reginald Bray, (the most popular candidate,) to Bishop Alcock, to William Bolton, prior of S. Bartholomew's, to Bishop Fox,<sup>1</sup> and to the King himself. It is more certain that the actual work was committed to one of these, William Bolton, who is especially named by Henry VII. in his will, as the master of his works there. At the time of Henry's death, (1509) it is probable that the vaulting only remained to be completed, and from the coincidence of time, the author of the letterpress in Neale's *Antiquities of Westminster* conjectures "that this vaulting was constructed by the same masons who executed that of the choir of S. George's Chapel, at Windsor, viz., John Hylmer, and William Vertue; and who, as will be seen by the following extract from Ashmole, would have been at liberty to undertake such a work, at the very period that we may presume it to have been raised.—'By indenture,

eated to S. Erasmus, by Elizabeth Woodville, Edward the Fourth's Queen, and certain secular and domestic buildings were destroyed.

<sup>1</sup> These three ecclesiastics are all well known for their architectural skill and munificence.



dated the fifth of *June*, in the one and twentieth year of this King's reign, [namely, Hen. VII.] *John Hylmer* and *William Vertue*, freemasons, undertook the vaulting of the *roof* of the *choir* (that curious and excellent piece of architecture, for seven hundred pounds, and to finish it by Christmas, Anno Dom. 1508.)—There is much analogy between this Chapel and S. George's Chapel, in the style of the workmanship, and in the disposition and pattern of the tracery."

The windows were all filled with painted glass, which was of such beauty as to be referred to as a model in the indentures for the glazing of King's College Chapel.<sup>1</sup>

The subsequent history of this last great effort of Gothic architecture, includes its spoliation, with the destruction of the greater part of the glass, at the Reformation, and the great Rebellion; its appropriation to the knights of the Bath, as the Chapel of their order, by George I., to which it owes a part of its richest national associations, and the display of banners which hang over the stalls,<sup>2</sup> and the recent repairs, at the

<sup>1</sup> "The earliest of these indentures, which was made on the last day of April, in the 8th of Hen. VIII. [anno 1516,] between Dr. Robert Hacombleyn, Provost of King's College, &c., on the 'one partie,' and Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve, and James Nycholson, 'Glasyers,' on the other part, it was covenanted that the latter should 'glase and sette up, or cause to be glased and set up eightene wyndowes of the upper story of the great church within the Kynge's College of Cambridge, whereof the wyndowe in the este ende of the seid church to be oon, and the windowe in the weste ende to be another; and so seryatly the resydue with good, clene, sure and perfyte glasse and oryent colors and imagery of the story of the olde lawe and of the new lawe, after the forme, maner, goodenes, curiousytie, and clenelynes, in every poynt of the glasse windowes of the Kynge's newe chapell at Westminster; and also accordingly and after suche maner as oon

Barnard Flower, glasyer, late deceased by Indenture stode bounde to doo.'—The same glaziers agreed, also, to 'delyver or cause to be delyvered' to Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes, 'glasyers,' or to 'either of them, good and true patrons, otherwise called a *vidimus*, for to fourme glasse and make by other four wyndowes of the said church;'—which the said Wylliamson and Symondes had, by another indenture, dated on the 3rd of May, in the same year, undertaken to execute, 'after the forme,' &c., 'of the Kynge's newe chapell at Westminster;' and for which they were to be paid, 'for the glasse, workmanship and setting up of every foot of the seid glasse by them to be provided, wrought and sett up after the forme abovesaid, *sixtene-pence* sterlinges.' "

<sup>2</sup> And unhappily the wanton destruction of many of its delicate ornaments, in the preparation of the chapel for the installations.



national expense. The admission of monuments has had the usual effect of destroying many beauties, and introducing many deformities, but of this enough has been said in a former chapter.

The most meagre description of this fabric, with a mere enumeration of the ornaments which crowd its whole surface within and without, would occupy several pages. It will be requisite however to mention some particulars which seem to indicate a principle of design and decoration peculiar to the Tudor style.

First in importance are the character and decorations of the vaulting. This is of the low four-centred arch, adorned with the most elaborate fan-tracery, with three rows of pendants of great size and richness, extending through the whole length.<sup>1</sup> Each bay is separated from those on either side of it by a free groining rib, which passes through an open pendant on either side, and is itself fringed with hanging foliations. The pendants are, constructively speaking, key stones, each to its separate system of fan-tracery: and the triumph of art which has employed the law of gravitation in suspending such threatening masses in security themselves, and as indissoluble bonds of union to so ponderous a system of stone-work, is most marvellous.<sup>2</sup>

The windows of the aisles are broken up into projecting angular forms, an arrangement which however rich it may be here, is clearly at variance with the principles of Gothic architecture: but in the clerestory windows, and the great west window, which has no fewer than fifteen lights, this is not repeated. In the tracery of these there is a tendency to recur to Decorated forms; though the mouldings are purely Perpendicular. The tracery also of the open flying buttresses is Decorated in general composition: features which are mentioned because they indicate a return in the late Perpendicular to the design of a former age, which is found in other instances. The church of S. John the Evangelist in Leeds, one of the very latest specimens of Gothic, founded by John Harrison, in the reign of Charles II., is actually Decorated in character.

<sup>1</sup> The aisles of course have a separate system of vaulting. It is not so elaborate, but is the same in principle.

<sup>2</sup> I do not attempt a more minute description, because it would be wholly unintelligible without figures.



The apsidal termination of the east end, found also in S. Michael's church, Coventry, is a return even to the Norman arrangement.

The dome-shaped terminations of the turrets is quite characteristic of the Tudor style, in which alone it appears.

And to descend to smaller details, the courses of mouldings beneath the parapets accept a kind of decoration quite incongruous with any earlier style. Instead of flowers or animals studding the projections, as in Norman, or filling the hollows, as in all subsequent styles, they are set upon the whole suite of mouldings, as if they had no connection with it, beyond the mere fact of their being there. Panelling also is enriched in the same way. It is not a matter of principle, but merely an accident of the age and foundation of this chapel, that the ornaments thus thrown everywhere upon the surface, are the royal badges of Henry VII., the greyhound, the dragon, the fleur-de-lys, the portcullis, and the rose.

To this chapter may be appended a few documents relating to the erection of ecclesiastical edifices. They are all of them published already, but some specimens of the kind are necessary to the history of architecture, and on this account, rather than for their curiosity, they are here given. Others will be found in the agreement for the building of Fotheringay church, republished in a separate volume of the Oxford Architectural Society, from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and in the Appendix to Professor Willis, on the Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages : and other documents of the kind are scattered among the wills of the princes, nobles, and merchants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.



## APPENDIX.

## DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ERECTION OF ECCLESIASTICAL EDIFICES DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

## I.

*The indenture between the prior and convent of Durham, and John Middleton, mason, concerning the building of the dormitory, transcribed from the Surtees edition of the Scriptores tres, Appendix No. CLX.*

Hæc indentura, facta inter Johannem Priorem ecclesiæ Dunelmensis et ejusdem loci Conventum ex parte una, et Johannem de Middleton cementarium ex parte altera, testatur, quod prædictus Johannes cementarius promisit, et manucepit, ac se obligavit, ad edificandum et de novo construendum muros dormitorii infra Abbatiam Dunelmensem situati, modo et forma inferius expressatis. In primis, idem cementarius suis sumptibus et expensis fieri faciet de novo unum murum, ex parte occidentali ejusdem dormitorii, qui quidem murus se extendit in longitudine a Monasterio Dunelmensi usque ad finem australem ejusdem dormitorii, et in altitudine sexaginta pedum; una cum bretissementis, si necesse fuerit, secundum voluntatem ipsorum Prioris et Conventus; et erit exterius de puro lapide, vocato achiler, plane incisso, interius vero de fracto lapide, vocato roghwall, et de bono calce bene et sufficienter mixto cemate compositus. Erit etiam planus murus et in fundamento spissitudinis sive latitudinis duarum ulnarum, cum quatuor bonis et securis scarcementis, vel pluribus si oporteat fieri, secundum formam cujusdam exemplaris præsentibus identuris annexi. Erunt etiam in eodem muro quatuor ostia, vel plura si necesse fuerit, bona et conveniencia, et de bono et competenti opere, pro introitibus et exitibus opportunis; cum uno bono botras et substantiali inter finem dicti muri et le sowthgavill. Erunt eciam sub volta ejusdem domus in muro prædicto novem fenestræ lapideæ; de quibus quinque erunt sculpturæ et similitudinis mediæ fenestræ in domo communarii situatæ, vel melioris; quatuor vero aliæ fenestræ erunt competentes, et de bono opere, pro voluntate dictorum Prioris et Conventus eligendæ. Quilibet vero bini lecti monachorum, supra dictam voltam, habebunt unam bonam fenestram pro suis studiis competentem; quæ quidem fenestræ erunt ejusdem formæ cujus est fenestra studii vicinioris ecclesiæ ejusdem partis; et supra quodlibet studium erit unum modicum et securum archewote, supra quod, spacio competenti interposito, erit una historia octo fenestrarum, ejusdem formæ cujus est fenestra superior et propinquior pa-



rieti monasterii prædicti in dormitorio prædicto; et desuper istam historiam fenestrarum erunt honesta alours et bretesmontz batellata et kirkelata; quæ quidem alours et bretismentz erunt de puro achiler et plane inciso, tam exterius quam interius. Murus vero orientalis ejusdem dormitorii, inter monasterium prædictum et refectorium dictæ abbathiæ, a superficie claustrum erit planus, cum securis scarcementz necessariis de mundissimo lapide achiler, plane inciso exterius, et roghwall interius; cum studiis et fenestris tam inferioribus quam superioribus, ejusdem sectæ cujus erit murus alius antedictus. Et erit le bendyng cujuslibet achiler ponendi in isto opere longitudinis unius pedis de assisa, vel longioris. Erit eciam le sowtgavill ejusdem dormitorii, a parte inferiori usque ad altitudinem competentem, de puro achiler exterius, et inferius de roghwall; cum latitudine, spissitudine, bretismentz, et alours, muris antedictis correspondens et conveniens: in quo quidem gavill erit una magna fenestra, ad voluntatem et arbitrium dicti Prioris facienda. Erit eciam in aliquo loco competenti per discrecionem dicti cementarii eligendo, assensorium vocatum vys, pro ascendendo supra dictum dormitorium; et opus istud erit in parietibus adeo decentis formæ et fortitudinis, vel melioris, cujus est quædam turris in castro de Branspeth, vocata le Constabiltour; quæ quidem turris erit exemplar hujus operis. Et erit dictum opus finaliter completum infra tres annos festum Natalis Domini proxime futurum immediate sequentes. Et prædictus cementarius warantizabit et sustentabit woltam infra prædictum dormitorium nunc existentem, adeo bono statu sicut est in die confectionis præsentium, absque aliqua deterioracione ejusdem. Et idem cementarius inveniet omnimoda cariagia, dicto operi quomodolibet oportuna; franget quareram; ardebit calcem; ac instrumenta ferrea, et lignea, alia quoque vasa quæcunque, cum scaffaldes, seyntres, et flekes, et aliis omnimodis necessariis oportunis, sumptibus propriis et expensis; exceptis quarera tam pro lapidibus quam pro calce, meremio, ac virgis pro dictis scaffaldes, sentres et flekes, quæ dictus Prior assignari faciet eidem cementario infra spacium trium miliarium a Dunelmo distancium. Idem quoque Prior et Conventus, cum consilio et deliberacione dicti cementarii, muros antiquos in eodem dormitorio nunc existentes prosterni facient; et eorum fundamenta pure mundari, pro novo opere imponendo; quæ fundamina erunt incepta et posita per concilium et deliberacionem dicti Prioris et Conventus. Et habebit idem cementarius omnes lapides et cementum de muris antiquis ejusdem dormitorii prosternendi, et novos lapides pro eodem dormitorio de novo excisos et ordinatos, ad suplecionem operis supradicti. Ita tamen quod faciat omnes fenestras antiquas et lapides de novo renovari, pro decoro et conformitate dicti operis. Prænominati eciam Prior et Conventus dabunt prædicto cementario, quolibet anno, durantibus tribus annis supradictis, quando præfatum Priorem contigerit liberacionem panni facere generalem, unum garmamentum de secta armigerorum Prioris. Dabunt etiam eidem cementario, durantibus tribus annis supradictis, victum in esculentis, et poculentis pro ipso et garcione suo, quandocunque pro opere prædicto Dunelmi moram traxerit, et ibidem circa opus prædic-



tum fuerit occupatus. Dabunt itaque dictus Prior et Conventus cementario supradicto pro qualibet roda operis prædicti quæ continebit sex ulnas et duas partes unius ulnæ squar, tam sub terra quam supra terram, decem marcas argenti: unde ad inceptionem operis supradicti idem cementarius percipiet præ manibus quadraginta libras argenti; et postea, cum perfece-rit ad valorem sex rodarum operis supradicti, alias quadraginta libras; et sic tociens quadraginta libras quociens perfecerit sex rodas, modo supra-dicto; donec prædictum opus fuerit plenarie consummatum. Proviso tamen quod, ultra præmissa specificata, nichil quomodolibet sibi valeat ven-dicare. Et erit prædictus cementarius, et quatuor aliæ sufficientes per-sonæ, obligati dictis Priori et Conventui in una obligacione, per concilium dictorum Prioris et Conventus facienda, in quadraginta libris singula vice qua quadraginta libras in forma prædicta idem cementarius receperit; sol-vendis eidem Priori, aut ejus successoribus, in casu quo idem cementarius defecerit perficere pro singulis decem marcis summæ prædictæ unam rodam operis antedicti sub forma et condicione superius memoratis. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus indenturis partes prædictæ sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Data die Sabbati, in festo Sancti Mathei Apostoli et Evan-gelistæ, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo octavo."

## II.

*Agreement for the building of Catterick Church, Yorkshire, transcribed  
from Whittaker's Richmondshire.*

The original contract, regularly executed, upon parchment, is in the possession of Sir Henry Lawson, Bart., Brough Hall.

"This indenture, made at Burghe, the aghteenthe day of the moneth of April, the yere of King Henrie fefth after the Conqueste, betwene Dame Katerine of Burghe, some tyme the wyfe of John Burghe, William of Burghe, the sonne of the aforesaid John and Dame Katerine, of the ta-partie, and Rich<sup>d</sup> of Cracall, masone, on the tother, bereth &c. that the foreseid Rich<sup>d</sup> takes full charge to make the kirke of Katric new, als workmanshipp and masoncrafte will, and fynde all the labrers and service perteyning to the kirke makyng; and that the forseid R<sup>d</sup> shall take downe and ridd of (off) the stayne werke of the alde kirke of Katrik after the timber be tane downe, and he shall care (carry) and bere all the stane wark of the ald kirke to the place where the newe kirke sal be made; and also forseid Rich<sup>d</sup> sall take the grownde, and ridde the grownde, whar the newe kirke sall be made, and sall gett or garre get all the quarral (squared stones) at his awen coste, all the stuff or the stane that misters (is required) more for makyng of the kirke of Katrik than that stufte that is founne within the kirke yerde beforeseid; and alsoe sall make the kirke and the queere newe. The queere sall be of length within with the thicknesse of



bathe walles fifti fote, and it sall be of brede within the walles two and twente fote; and the forseid Rich<sup>d</sup> sall make a windowe in the gavel of fife lightes accordant to the heght of the kirke; and he sall make upon the cornere of the south syde of the same windowe a stanche botras rising unto the cabill. And a windowe of twa lights at the awter ende, and a botras rysing unto the cabell, and a windowe on the same syde of fower lyghtes, and a botras accordant therto; and sall make a queere doore on wheder syde of the botras that it will best bee; and sall . . . . put on . . . . for the makynge of a revestry, and sall make a dore on the same syde for a revestry and a botras; and sall set a windowe of three lightes anens the deskes, the whilke stande nowe in the old queere on the southe syde.

“And the highte of the walles of the queere sall be above the grownde twenti fote.

“And also the forseid Rich<sup>d</sup> sall make an highe awter, joinard on the windowe in the gavell with thre greses (steps) beginning at the revestry dore.

“And the foreseid R<sup>d</sup> sall make the body of the kirke accordant of wideness betweene the pilers of the queere, and the lenght of the body of the kirke sall be of threscore fote and tenne, with the thicknesse of the weste wall; and the said ele (aisle) sall be accordant to the queere, with an awter and a lavatory in the este ende.

“And the forseid Rich<sup>d</sup> sall take the windowe that stands now in the north syde of the alde kirke, and sett itt in the este end of the north ele over the awter with a stanche botras on the corner.

“And the said Rich<sup>d</sup> bindes himselfe &c. that the kirke of Katrik before-saide and nemend, sall bee made fra the Faste of Seynt Jhon Baptiste next follow, and unto the same faste be thre yeres next follow, and bot if sodayne wers or pestilence make it (prevent it) the whiche maye be resonaabill excusation.

“And the forseid Dame Katrine and William sall carri all the stane that misters mare than is fou in the alde kirke, and the kirke yerde, at theire awin coste, and sall fynde lyme, and sande, and water, and scaffalyng. And forseid Dame Katrine and W<sup>m</sup> byndes them be thes endentures to paye unto seid Rich<sup>d</sup> within terme of thre yere eighte score of merkes; and iff the kirke be ended at the terme before nemande, Dame Katrine and W<sup>m</sup> sall gif untoe the saide Rich<sup>d</sup> tenne merkes of money and a gowne of W<sup>m</sup> wering to his rewarde.”

### III.

*Documents relating to the decorations of the Beauchamp chapel, in S. Mary's church, Warwick, collected by Dugdale, and given in his Warwickshire.*

John Essex, Marbler, Will. Austen, Founder, and Thomas Stevyns, Copper-smith, do covenant with the said executors, that they shall make, forge, and worke, in most finest wise and of the finest latten, one large plate to be dressed, and to lye on the overmost stone of the tombe under the



Image that shall lye on the same tombe; and two narrow plates to go round about the stone. Also they shall make in like wise and like latten, an hearse to be dressed and set upon the said stone, over the image, to bear a covering to be ordeyned; the large plate [to be made of the finest and thickest Cullen plate, shall be in length viii. foot, and in bredth iii. foot and one inch. Either of the said long plates for writing, shall be in bredth to fill justly the casements provided therefore; the hearse to be made in the comeliest wise, justly in length, bredth, thickness, and height thereof, and of every part thereof, and in workmanship in all places and pieces such, and after an hearse of timber which the executors shall make for a pattern: and in ten panells of this hearse of latten, the said workman shall set, in the most finest and fairest wise ten scutcheons of armes, such as the executors will devise. In the two long plates they shall write in Latine in fine manner, all such scripture of declaration as the said executors shall devise, that may be conteined and comprehended in the plates: all the champes about the letter to be abated and hatched curiously, to set out the letters. All the aforesaid large plates, and all the said two plates through all the over sides of them, and all the said hearse of latten without and within, they shall repair and gild with the finest gold, as finely, and as well in all places through, as is or shall be any place of the aforesaid image, which one Bartholomew Goldsmyth then had in gilding; all the said workmanship, in making, finishing, laying, and fastning to be at the charge of the said workmen. And for the same they shall have in sterling money cxxv. li.

Will. Austen, Citizen and Founder, of London, xiv. Martii, 30 H. 6. covenanteth, &c., to cast, work, and perfectly to make, of the finest latten to be gilded that may be found, xiv. Images embossed of Lords and Ladyes in divers vestures, called weepers, to stand in housings made about the tombe, those images to be made in bredth, length, and thickness, &c. to xiv. patterns made of timber. Also he shall make xviii. lesse images of angells, to stand in other housings, as shall be appointed by patterns, whereof ix. after one side, and ix. after another. Also he must make an hearse to stand on the tombe, above and about the principall image that shall lye in the tombe, according to a pattern; the stuffe and workmanship to the repairing, to be at the charge of the said Will. Austen. And the executors shall pay for every image that shall lye on the tombe, of the weepers so made in latten, xiii. s. iv. d. And for every image of angells so made, v. s. And for every pound of latten that shall be in the hearse, x. d. And shall pay and bear the costs of the said Austen for setting the said images and hearse.

The said Will. Austen, xi. Feb. 28 H. 6, doth covenant to cast and make an image of a man armed, of fine latten, garnished with certain ornaments, viz. with sword and dagger; with a garter; with a helme and crest under his head, and at his feet a bear musled, and a griffon, perfectly made of the finest latten, according to patterns; all which to be brought to *Warwick* and layd on the tombe, at the perill of the said Aus-



ten; the said executors paying for the image, perfectly made and laid, and all the ornaments, in good order, besides the cost of the said workmen to *Warwick*, and working there to lay the image, and besides the cost of the carriages, all which are to be born by the said executors, in totall xl. li.

Bartholomew Lambespring, Dutchman, and Goldsmyth, of *London*, 23 Maii, 27 H. 6, covenanteth to repaire, whone, and pullish, and to make perfect to the gilding, an image of latten, of a man armed, that is in making, to lye over the tombe, and all the apparell that belongeth thereunto, as helme, crest, sword, &c., and beasts; the said executors paying therefore xiii. li.

The said Bartholomew and Will. Austen, xii. Martii, 31 H. 6, do covenant to pullish and repare xxxii. images of latten, lately made by the said Will. Austen for the tombe, viz. xviii. images of angells, and xiv. images of mourners, ready to the gilding; the said executors paying therefore xx. li.

The said Bartholomew, 6 Julii, 30 H. 6, doth covenant to make xiv. scutcheons of the finest latten, to be set under xiv. images of lords and ladyes, weepers, about the tombe; every scutcheon to be made meet in length, bredth and thickness, to the place it shall stand in the marble according to the patterns. These xiv. scutcheons, and the armes in them, the said Bartholomew shall make, repare, grave, gild, enamil, and pullish as well as is possible; and the same scutcheons shall set up, and pin fast, and shall bear the charge of all the stuff thereof, the said executors paying for every scutcheon, xv. s. sterling, which in all amounteth to x. li. x. s.

The said Bartholomew xx. Julii, 31 H. 6, doth covenant, &c. to gild, pullish, and burnish xxxii. images, whereof xiv. mourners, and xviii. angells to be set about the tombe, and to make the visages and hands, and all other bares of all the said images, in most quick and fair wise, and to save the gold as much as may be from and without spoiling, and to find all things saving gold; the said executors to find all the gold that shall be occupied thereabout, and to pay him for his other charges and labours, either xl. li., or else so much as two honest and skillfull goldsmyths shall say upon the view of the work, what the same, besides gold and his labour, is worth: and the executors are to deliver money from time to time, as the worth goeth forward, whereof they pay Li. li. viii. s. iv. d.

The said Bartholomew, iii°. Martii, 32 H. 6, doth covenant to make clean, to gild, to burnish, and pullish, the great image of latten, which shall lye upon the tombe, with the helme and crest, the bear and the griffon, and all other the ornaments of latten; and the said Bartholomew shall finde all manner of stuffe for the doing thereof, saving gold, and all workmanship at his charges, the said executors providing gold, and giving to the said Bartholomew such sum and sums of money for his charges and workmanship as two honest and skilfull goldsmyths, viewing the work, shall adjudge, whereof some of the money to be payd for the borde of the workmen, as the work shall go forward, whereof they pay xcv. li. ii. s. viii. d.

John Bourde of Corff Castle, in the county of *Dorset*, Marbler, 16 Maii, 35 H. 6, doth covenant to make a tombe of marble, to be set on the said



Earle's grave; the said tombe to be made well, cleane, and sufficiently, of a good and fine marble, as well coloured as may be had in *England*. The uppermost stone of the tombe and the base thereof to contain in length ix. foot of the standard, in breadth iv. foot, and in thickness vii. inches: the course of the tomb to be of good and due proportion to answer the length and bredth of the uppermost stone; and a pace to be made round about the tombe of like good marble, to stand on the ground; which pace shall contain in thickness vi. inches and in breadth xviii. inches. The tombe to bear in height from the pace iv. foot and a half. And in and about the same tombe to make xiv. principall housings, and under every principall housing a goodly quarter for a scutcheon of copper and gilt to be set in; and to do all the work and workmanship about the same tombe in the entail, according to a portraicture delivered him; and the carriages and bringing to *Warwick*, and there to set the same up where it shall stand: the entailing to be at the charge of the executors; after which entailing the said marbler shall pullish and clense the said tombe in workman-like sort. And for all the said marble, carriage and work, he shall have in sterling money xlv. li.

The said marbler covenanteth to provide, of good and well coloured marble, so many stones as will pave the chapell where the tombe standeth, every stone containing in thickness two inches, and in convenient bredth, and to bring the same to *Warwick* and lay it. And for the stuff, workmanship, and carriage of every hundred of those stones, he shall have xl. s. which in the totall comes to iv. li. xiii. s. iv. d.

John Prudde of *Westminster*, glasier, 23 Junii, 25 H. 6, covenanteth, &c. to glase all the windows in the New Chappell in *Warwick*, with glasse beyond the seas, and with no glasse of *England*; and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glasse of beyond the sea that may be had in *England*, and of the finest colours in blew, yellow, red, purple, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary, and best to make rich and embellish the matters, images, and stories that shall be delivered and appointed by the said executors by patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter in rich colour at the charges of the said glasier. All which proportions the said John Prudde must make perfectly, to fine glase, eneylin it, and finely and strongly set it in lead and souder, as well as any glasse is in *England*. Of white glasse, green glasse, black glasse, he shall put in as little as shall be needfull for the showing and setting forth of the matters, images and storyes. And the said glasier shall take charge of the same glasse, wrought and to be brought to *Warwick*, and set up there, in the windows of the said chapell; the executors paying to the said glasier for every foot of glasse ii. s. and so for the whole xci. li. i. s. x. d.

It appeareth, that after these windows were so finished, the executors devised some alterations, as to adde, . . . . . for our lady; and scripture of the marriage of the earle, and procured the same to be set forth in glasse in most fine and curious colours; and for the same they payd the



sum of xiii. li. vi. s. iv. d. Also it appeareth, that they caused the windows in the vestry to be curiously glased with glasse of ii. s. a foot for which they payd Ls. The sum total for the glasse for the said vestry and chapell Xvi. li. xviii. s. vi. d. which in all contain by measure :

The east window, Cxlix. foot i quarter and two inches.

The south windows, CCCClix. foot xi. inches.

The north windows, CCCv. foot.

The totall DCCCCx. foot, iii. quarters of a foot and two inches.

Richard Bird and John Haynes, citizens and carpenters of *London* xii. Febr. 28 H. 6, do covenant to make and set up in the chapell where the Earl is buried, or where the tombe standeth, a pair of desks of timber, poppies, seats, sills, planks, reredoses of timber, with patands of timber, and a crest of fine entail, with a bowtel roving on the crest. And also the carpenters do covenant to make and set up, finely and workmanly, a parclose of timber about an organ loft ordained to stand over the west dore of the said chapell according to patterns: all these things to be made, set up, fastened, joyned, and ordered in as good sort as those in the quire of S. Maries Church in *Warwick*; the executors finding all manner of timber, and carriages; and giving and paying to the said carpenters, for the workmanship, xl. li.

John Brentwood, citizen and stevener of *London*, 12 Febr. 28 H. 6, doth covenant to paint fine and curiously to make at *Warwick*, on the west wall of the New Chappell there, the dome of our LORD GOD JESUS, and all manner of devices and imagery thereto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion, as the place shall serve for, with the finest colours, and fine gold: and the said Brentwood shall find all manner of stuffe thereto at his charge; the said executors paying therefore xiii. li. vi. s. viii. d.

Kristian Coleburne, painter, dwelling in *London*, 13 Junii, 32 H. 6, covenanteth, &c., to paint in most fine, fairest, and curious wise, four images of stone ordained for the new Chapell in *Warwick*; whereof two principall images, the one of our Lady the other of S. Gabraell the Angell; and two lesse images, one of S. Anne, and the other of S. George. These four to be painted with the finest oyle colours, in the richest, finest, and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purple, of fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered, and poudered in the finest and curiousest wise. All the cost and worman-ship of painting to be at the charge of the said Kristian, the executors paying for the same xii. li.

#### IV.

*On the erection of Coventry Cross, from Sir William Dugdale's Warwickshire.*

"I come now to speak of that stately cross here, being one of the chief things wherein this city most glories, which for workmanship and beauty is



inferior to none in England: the building whereof was begun in Anno 1541, 33 Hen. VIII., and finished in Anno 1544, 36 Hen. VIII." The founder was Sir William Hollies, knight, "who bearing a special affection to this city, for order, for the structure thereof, as the words of his testament, bearing date, 25 Dec. 33 Hen. VIII., do impart, 'and furthermore I give and bequeath unto the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Coventry, and to the Commons of the same £200 sterling, to the intent and purpose hereafter ensuing, that is to say, to make a new cross within the said city: whereof delivered in hand to M. Warren, draper, of the said city, the 24th day of August last, £20 in ready money: and also more paid to Mr. Over, by the hands of Salt, my bailie of Yoxall, £70 in ready money; and to rest unpaid £110 sterling, which I will and desire my executors see to be delivered and paid unto the said Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry aforesaid, to the use and intent aforesaid, within one year after my decease.'"—Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 95.

"In that place where this cross is now situate, there stood anciently another; which having been set up in Anno 1423, 2 Hen. VI. was taken down in Anno 1510, 2 Hen. VIII., but for what reason I find not."—Ibid.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE POST-REFORMATION PERIOD.

DETERIORATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL ART NOT TO BE REFERRED TO THE REFORMATION. — DESTRUCTION AND SPOILIATION OF CHURCHES. — THE CURSE UPON SACRILEGE. — MATERIALS OF CHURCHES USED TO MUCH HURT AND LITTLE GAIN. — DIFFERENT SPIRIT OF SACRILEGE AT THE REFORMATION, AND AT THE REBELLION. — PURITAN DESTRUCTION. — THE JOURNAL OF WILL DOWSING. — DESOLATION OF LICHFIELD, OF SCARBOROUGH, OF ASTLEY. — RESTORATION OF LICHFIELD, OF STANTON HAROLD. — THE FIRE OF LONDON. — SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, AND THE TOTAL EXTINCTION OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

THE Reformation occurred at a happy time for the true honour of ecclesiastical architecture. Teutonic art had passed its culminating point, and its gradual declension was prevented, and its shame covered by the rude collision of contending elements which quenched its full blaze of light. A little longer, and it would have set in dishonour, sinking feeble and dim behind the cold and dreary mists which were gathering in a tainted atmosphere from a corrupt world, to obscure its parting beams.

It is well that there is nothing like a connecting link between Henry VII.'s chapel, and the debased or pseudo-Gothic of Elizabeth, or the revived and pseudo-classic of Inigo Jones, and Wren. We may be thankful for the violence of the transition.

It is no part of my intention to enlarge on the causes or the course of the destruction which fell on so many of our greater ecclesiastical fabrics, and of the desolation which reigned within many a sacred pile which was itself wholly or partially spared: nor to relate how a nation with a rapidly-increasing population, not only ceased to build new churches, but even to restore old ones, until many a district once amply provided with sacred edi-



fices could not find "church-room"<sup>1</sup> for a tenth part of its population ; until some at least of the churches that remained were in a state which would not be tolerated in the stables of neighbouring mansions : and until, for very necessity, conventicles were substituted for churches :<sup>2</sup> nor how at last, when something must be done, for very shame or for fear, many causes conspired to prevent the churches newly erected from taking their place as works of art, and objects of beauty, beside our beautiful and venerable sanctuaries.

It is sufficiently well known as a general fact, though perhaps it is strangely little known in its particular incidents, how the greater churches belonging to the monastic bodies were sold or granted by the crown during the Reformation to needy and unprincipled courtiers, or retained for unhallowed uses ; and how they were stripped of their roofs, and taken to pieces for their mere materials ; and how the remaining cathedrals, and the parish churches, with a few others which were saved by the intervention of better counsels,<sup>3</sup> or actually purchased by the inhabitants,<sup>4</sup> were stripped of their decorations. Thus a church was destroyed by Henry VIII. to build Nonsuch. The protector Somerset pulled down the parish church of S. Mary's, and the palaces of the Bishops of Worcester, Lichfield, and Llandaff, to form a site for Somerset House, and several chapels and religious houses supplied the materials. Tewkesbury was granted to Sir

<sup>1</sup> The very word indicates our poverty. Could there, since the full establishment of Christianity, till long after the Reformation, have been such a question asked as whether there was "church-room" in any district?

<sup>2</sup> In 1268, Branescombe, Bishop of Exeter consecrated forty churches in his diocese. One would be curious to know how many churches were consecrated during the whole of the episcopates, of all the post-Reformation Bishops, till the year 1800. The present Bishop of Exeter is exerting himself, not in vain we hope, to procure "church-room" in Devonport, which,

with a population of 26,000 persons, has not a single church !

<sup>3</sup> York was besieged by Fairfax, but the inhabitants surrendered on condition that their minster and churches should be spared. The condition was respected. Perhaps the chapter-house was not accounted a part of the church. It is said to have been sold as useless, and to have been doomed to destruction, but the death of the purchaser saved it.

<sup>4</sup> S. Alban's was thus saved, being purchased for £400 by the inhabitants, and converted into a parish church. See Staveley on Churches.



Thomas Seymour: the church remains as a parish church, but it was sadly despoiled; the vestments were sold for £194, the plate weighed 1431 oz.: the lead 180 fodder, the bells 14,600 lbs. and all this besides jewels.<sup>1</sup>

Although of course the valuable materials were converted either to immediate use, or into money, yet the mere wanton determination to destroy seems to have dictated the demolition or dismantling of several conventual fabrics. The author of "Monks and Monasteries" quotes a remarkable document of a royal commissioner, in which the true spirit of a spoliator is expressed with great *naïvete*.<sup>2</sup> These men seem to have had something of a sportsman's delight in marking and bringing down the prey: had the prey been less feeble, and had the excitement of flight or of resistance been added to their sport their satisfaction would have been complete.

But though wood and stone might seem too passive to revenge the injury, it turned out far otherwise: "the stone cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answered it."<sup>3</sup> It was a thing notorious at the time, and which we would not willingly have forgotten, that the spoils of churches brought no blessing

<sup>1</sup> Spelman's History and Fate of Sacrilege, recent edition.

<sup>2</sup> "Plesythe your good lordship to be advertysed, I have taken down all the lead of Jervase, and made it in pecys of half foders, which lead amountyth to the number of eighteen score and five foders; with thirty and four foders and a half that were there before; and the same lead cannot be conveyt nor caryed unto the next sombre, for the ways in that country are so foull and deep, that no caryage can pass in wyntre; and as concernynge the raising and taking down the house, iff it be your lordshipp's pleasure, I am minded to lett it stand to the spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short it would be dowble charges to do it now; and as concernynge the selling of the belles, I cannot sell them above fifteen shillings the hundreth;

wherein I would gladly know your lordshipp's pleasure, whether I should sell them after that price or send them up to London. And if they be sent up, surelye the caryage will be costly from that place to the water. And as for Bridlington, I have down nothing there as yet, but spayreth it to March next, because the days now are so short, and from such time as I begyn I trust shortly to dispatch it after such fashion, that when all is finished, I trust your lordshipp shall think that I have been no evil housbound in all such things as your lordshipp appointed me to do; and thus the HOLY GHOST preserve your lordshipp in honour.

"At York, the 14th day of November, 1538, by your most bounden beadman,

RICHARD BELLASIS."

<sup>3</sup> Habakkuk ii. 11.



with them, and that the materials somehow or other turned to no profit. They were lost in their transit, as a very great proportion of the bells were; or they paid gambling debts; or they eat into the house as doth a canker.<sup>1</sup>

I purposely omit to mention the general fate of sacrilege, where the property of the Church, its wealth and its broad lands were taken, but some reference to the curse which seemed to cleave *even to the materials* of the religious houses and of the churches, could not be omitted without evident impropriety in a history of ecclesiastical architecture. The several royal injunctions, with the episcopal articles of visitation from the close of the reign of Henry VIII. to the end of that of Elizabeth, give sufficient note of the changes in smaller matters of decoration and arrangement which were continually occurring. These, however, do not come strictly speaking within the subject of this work, for they do not touch the fabric of the church. Nor are churchwardens' accounts and the like contemporary notices of such events more directly to our purpose; they are, however, always amusing and often interesting, and as they are not found

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Spelman relates the following instance, of which he speaks as within his own knowledge, and as admitted by the person concerned. "Sir Roger Townsend, the baronet, intending to build a goodly house at Rainham, and to fetch stone for the same from Coxford Abbey, by advice of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, his grandfather, began to demolish the church there, which till then was standing: and beginning with the steeple, the first stone (as it is said,) in the fall brake a man's leg, which somewhat amazed them; yet contemning such advertisement, they proceeded in the work, and overthrowing the steeple, it fell upon a house by, and breaking it down, slew in it one Mr. Seller, that lay lame in it of a broken leg, gotten at foot-ball, others having saved themselves by fright and flight.

"Sir Roger having digged the cellar-ing of his new house, and raised the

walls with some of the abbey stone, breast-high, the wall reft from the corner stones, though it was clear above ground; which being reported to me by my servant, Richard Tedcastle, I viewed them with mine own eyes, and found it so. Sir Roger, utterly dismayed with these occurrents, gave over his begun foundation; and digging anew wholly out of the ground, about twenty yards more forward toward the north, hath there finished a stately house, using none of the abbey stone about it, but employed the same in building a parsonage-house for the minister of that town, and about the walls of the churchyard, &c.

"Himself also showed me that as his foundation reft in sunder, so the new bridge, which he had made of the same stone at the foot of the hill, which ascendeth to his house, settled down with a belly as if it would fall."



in general history, a specimen may be admissible here. I give, therefore, the

*Churchwardens' Account, S. Helen's, Abingdon.*

|           |                                                                                                                              | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| MDLIX.    | Eliz. 2. For taking down the altere . . .                                                                                    | 0         | 20        |
| MDLX.     | Received of Thomas Hethe for the holye loft . . .                                                                            | 2         | 0         |
|           | Of William Dale for the holye loft . . .                                                                                     | 6         | 4         |
|           | Payde for tymber and making the communyon table . . .                                                                        | 6         | 0         |
|           | For a carpet for the communyon table . . .                                                                                   | 2         | 8         |
|           | For mending and paving the place where the altere stoode . . .                                                               | 2         | 8         |
|           | For two dossin of morris belles . . .                                                                                        | 1         | 0         |
| MDLXI.    | Elizabeth 4. To the somner for bringing the order for the roode loft . . .                                                   | 0         | 8         |
|           | To the carpenter and others for taking down the roode loft and stopping the holes in the wall, where the joices stoode . . . | 15        | 8         |
|           | To the peynter for wrighting the scripture, where the roode lofte stoode, and overthwarte the same isle . . .                | 3         | 4         |
| MDLXIV.   | For reparations of the cross in the market place . . .                                                                       | 5         | 2         |
| MDLXVI.   | 16 Eliz. Payde for setting up Robin Hoode's bower <sup>1</sup> . . .                                                         | 0         | 18        |
| MDLXXVII. | 20 Eliz. For writing the commandments in the quire and peynting of the same . . .                                            | 19        | 0         |
| MDXCI.    | 34 Eliz. Payde for an houre glass for the pilpitt <sup>2</sup> . . .                                                         | 0         | 4         |

The tendency during Elizabeth's reign,<sup>3</sup> so far as acts of authority were concerned, was on the whole to *decency* if not

<sup>1</sup> "I came once myselfe," says Latimer, Sermon VI., before King Edward VI., "to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word overnight into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was a holy day, and methought it was an holidaye's worke; the church stode in my way; and I toke my horse and my companye and went thither; I thought I should have found a great companye in the church, and when I came there the church dore was faste locked. I tarried there half an houre and more, and at last the keye was founde; and one of the parishe commes to me, and sayes, 'Syr, thys ys a busye day with

us, we cannot heare you: it is ROBYN HOODE'S DAYE. The parishe are gone abroad to gather for Robyn Hoode, I pray you let them not.' I was fayne there to geve place to Robin Hoode. I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it woulde not serve, it was fayne to give place to Robyn Hoode's men."

<sup>2</sup> Archæologia, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> During this reign, (June 4, 1561,) the spire of S. Paul's Cathedral, the loftiest in the world, was burnt down. An extract from a contemporary account will be found in the Appendix to this Chapter.



*splendour* of ceremonial; but the under-current of Puritanism soon reached the surface, and overflowed the feeble barrier that had been opposed to it, leading to acts of sacrilege and spoliation little less lamentable than those of Henry VIII. Indeed *insolence* in sacrilege could proceed no farther than it did during the Great Rebellion and under the Commonwealth.

Under Henry VIII. and his minions and their successors, the destruction of churches was in proportion to *their wealth*. Under Cromwell the desolating axe fell on sacred furniture and decorations in proportion *to their beauty and to the holiness of their use*: *cupidity* directed the blow in the former instance, in the latter *superstition*, and between the two the havoc was most complete.

We have a few scattered notices of the results of Puritan visitations in several districts,<sup>1</sup> but the state of the churches everywhere proves that their deeds have been very imperfectly recorded. At Canterbury, "on the 22nd Aug. 1642, some zealous troopers hewed the altar rails all to pieces, and threw the altar over and over, down the three altar steps, and left it lying with the heels upwards."<sup>2</sup> The font also in the same Cathedral was broken to pieces: meet accompaniments of the insults, injustice, and violence which the Archbishop of Canterbury was then receiving, and preludes of his sacrilegious murder. The more beautiful statuary, and the figures of saints in painted glass, seem to have been designedly used as marks in rifle practice; but we will desert such general statements, and turn to the confessions,<sup>3</sup> (or rather the boast) of one of the Parliamentary visitors for the demolishing of the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches.

The whole of this journal is most instructive, as showing the utilitarian simplicity with which the work of demolition

<sup>1</sup> Mercurius Rusticus gives several disgusting details of the desecration of Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> Dean and Chapter news from Canterbury, by Richard Culmer, quoted from Archæologia, Vol. XI.

<sup>3</sup> The Journal of William Dowsing, of Stratford, Parliamentary Visitor, appointed under a warrant from the

Earl of Manchester, for demolishing the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches, &c., within the county of Suffolk, in the years 1643—1644. First published in quarto in 1786, and lately as an Appendix to one of the reprints of English Divines at Oxford.



was carried on, and the unblushing effrontery with which its perpetrators could speak of their individual share in it. Their ignorance, too, of the real nature of the evils which they fancied that they were opposing, is almost enough to raise a laugh at their absurdities, in spite of the sadness occasioned by their sacrilegious violation of whatever was beautiful or holy.

The cross upon the steeple, or on the chancel, might have seemed beyond the reach of their malice ; too innocent to give offence, and too difficult of access to encourage their interference ; but there are many entries such as the following : “ *Coddenham*, Jan. 22nd. We gave order for taking down three crosses off the steeple, and one off the chancel.” All pictures, even those in the stained glass, which were never, that I know of, used for superstitious purposes ; and those of the seven deadly sins, which no one on earth would *profess* to worship, as a part of his religion, were condemned at once. “ *Rushmere*, Jan. 27th. We brake down the pictures of the seven deadly sins.” “ *Bramford*, Feb. 1st. A cross to be taken off the steeple ; we brake down eight hundred and forty-one superstitious pictures.” Their use, as architectural ornaments, did not defend corbels and mouldings, and the like, if unhappily they were thrown into the form of figures. “ *Shadbrook*, April the 4th. Eight angels off the roof, and cherubims in wood, to be taken down.”

Nay, the carver’s or the painter’s hand seems to have brought with it pollution, when most innocently employed ; and even in the placing the name of our Blessed LORD, or portions of the Sacred Scriptures, before the eyes of the people. At *Cochie*, “ there were many inscriptions of JESUS, in capital letters on the roof of the church : and cherubims with crosses on their breasts ; and a cross in the chancel ; all which, with divers pictures in the windows, which we could not reach, neither would they help us to raise the ladders,” [unnatural, ungodly men !] “ all which we left a warrant with the constable to do in fourteen days.” “ *Beccles*, April the 6th. JEHOVAHS,<sup>1</sup> between the church and chancel, and the sun over it ; and by the altar, MY FLESH IS

<sup>1</sup> This must mean the Hebrew letters which express this name of the ALMIGHTY.



MEAT INDEED, AND MY BLOOD IS DRINK INDEED.” “*Southwold*. To take down the cover of the font.”

Nor must the ear be spared, any more than the eye: “organs I brake,” is not an uncommon entry: and it would be most unjust to omit the following beautiful and unaffected touch of charity: “*Ufford*, Aug. 31st. We brake down the organ cases, and gave them to the poor.” The resistance of the inhabitants, which is noticed, seems to have saved some of the furniture of this church; for there is also the following entry, with no mention of demolition: “There is a glorious cover over the font, like a pope’s triple crown, with a pelican on the top, picking its breast, all gilt over with gold.”

The *folly* of quarrelling with a hood and surplice is just equalled by the *ignorance* which associates the academical with the clerical vestments: “*Elmsett*, Aug. 22nd. Crow, a deputy, had done before we came, we rent apieces there the hood and surplice.”

Of course whatever tended to distinguish the chancel from the church, or to signify the sanctity of the altar, was condemned. Such items as the following are very frequent: “Broke in pieces the rails, and gave orders to pull down the steps.”

It might have been expected that private chapels would escape. Vain hope! “The lady Bruce” laments the destruction of her pictures, and “The Lord Windsor,” and “Mr. Captain Waldgrave,” (i.e. their servants) refuse the 6s. 8d. which are the wages of Wm. Dowsing’s iniquity.

And all this while those are the godly men, whether constables, or churchwardens, or even clergymen, who join most heartily in the work of demolition—“*Aldborough*, Jan. 24. We gave order for taking down twenty cherubims, and thirty-eight pictures; which their lecturer, Mr. Swayn, (a godly man,) undertook, and their Captain Mr. Johnson.”

Really when Puritan reformation was thus carried on, we cannot but express the least sympathy with the one instance of a parish whose church had nothing to reform:—“Feby. the 3rd. *Wenham Magna*. There was nothing to reform.”

Besides this destruction, under pretence of reformation, many churches suffered greatly from the effects of a civil war,



in which one of the contending parties treated them habitually as profane, while the other party sometimes brought harm upon them by converting them or neighbouring buildings, into places of defence and refuge. Churches were perpetually converted into barracks, by the Puritans, and horses<sup>1</sup> were quartered in them as well as the troopers to whom they belonged.

Ecclesiastical edifices in the same town with a fortress, or themselves capable of defence, were, of course, most subject to the direct assaults of besiegers, and the unhappy necessities of a beleaguered garrison. Thus the Cathedral of Lichfield, standing in a close which was adapted to hold out against the rebels, suffered more than any other church in the kingdom of the same importance. And Scarborough church was battered most unmercifully from the castle. Of the latter instance I shall give the history.

Scarborough was twice besieged during the great Rebellion, and the church suffered on each occasion. Sir John Meldrum, a Scotchman, was sent against it by the Parliament. The following are among the notes of his proceedings :

“On February 18th, (1644,) about ten o’clock, Scarborough was stormed in four places by the English and Scottish soldiers, who gained the town and the church with the loss of eleven men. In the church they took eighty soldiers and the governor of Helmsley Castle. They also took in the town and church thirty-two pieces of ordnance, with store of arms and other prize. And Sir John Meldrum, having made a lodgement with his troops in the church of S. Mary, conveyed several pieces of artillery into it in the night, and opened a battery from the east window ; but

<sup>1</sup> “To me it was enjoyment enough to behold your happy change, and to see the same city, the metropolis of loyalty and of the kingdom, to behold the glory of English Churches reformed, that is delivered from the Reformers ; and to find at least the service of the Church repaired, though not the building. To see S. Paul’s delivered from beasts here, as well as S. Paul at Ephesus : and to view the church thronged only with troops of

auditors, not of horse !” — South’s Sermons.

There had been already a fiscal conversion of churches into stables. Ridley being about to give Grindal a prebend in S. Paul’s, was prevented by the council, it being their pleasure that the king should have it *for the furniture of his stables* ! See Blunt’s Hist. of the Reformation, p. 244. S. Paul’s was especially unhappy. In 1561 the south aisle was a horse fair !—Strype.



the garrison made such a vigorous and well-directed fire, that the choir of the church was demolished." On another occasion Sir John Meldrum was repulsed with great loss, and himself received a wound of which he died, June 3rd, 1645.

In November, 1646, among other damages sustained by Scarborough during the siege, the following is specified in a memorial presented to the Parliament :—"Their church wholly ruined, except the walls and some part of the roof, which was formerly in good repaire." In consequence of these repeated injuries the central tower fell in October, 1659, and considerably injured a great part of the nave of the church ; and the inhabitants were under the necessity of having recourse to a brief, from which the following passage is extracted.

"Whereas we are credibly informed by the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town corporate of Scarborough, that during the late wars our said town of Scarborough was twice stormed, and the said inhabitants disabled from following their ancient trade, whereby they are much impoverished, and almost ruined in their estates ; and that nothing might be wanting to make their condition more deplorable, their two fair churches were, by the violence of the cannon, beaten down ; that in one day there were three score pieces of ordnance discharged against the steeple of the upper church there, called S. Mary's, and the choir thereof quite beaten down, and the steeple thereof so shaken, that notwithstanding the endeavours of the inhabitants to repair the same, the steeple and bells, upon the tenth day of October last, fell and brought down with it most part of the body of the said church ; but the other church, called S. Thomas's Church, was, by the violence of the ordnance, quite ruined and battered down ; so that the said church, called S. Mary's, must be rebuilt, or otherwise the said inhabitants will remain destitute of a place wherein to assemble themselves for the public worship of Almighty God. And that the charges of rebuilding the church, called S. Mary's, will cost £2,500 at the least, which of themselves they are not able to disburse, their fortunes being almost ruined by the calamities of the late war, as aforesaid."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hinderwell's History of Scarborough.



It is one of the sad consequences of rebellion, that it forces, even upon the faithful, acts which would otherwise be wrong, and which are, under any necessity, most unhappy. Thus the Church during the troubles of King Charles the Martyr, not only suffered under the attacks of the Puritans, but was despoiled even by the loyalty of her faithful sons; a great part of the Church plate being sacrificed to the royal cause. Hence partly, the very great rarity of Ante-Reformation communion-plate; and hence the question whether its absence is not more honourable to a parish than its existence.

Nor should we forget, that without the avowed intention of robbery, but under the pretence of restoration, or of fitting churches to another service, or from a niggard expenditure in repairs with a total want of the sense of propriety, or even decency, not to speak of reverence in such matters, churches were suffering destruction during the whole of the troublous times of which we have been speaking, and that they are still perpetually suffering from the like causes. Sir William Dugdale's lament on the fine collegiate church of Astley, in Warwickshire, the work of Sir Thomas Astley, in the fourteenth century, may stand as a fair exposure and rebuke of such conduct. One Adrian Stokes got possession of the Lordship in right of his wife, and this notable esquire

"much defac't the church before specified as not onely by tradition of the inhabitants, but a presentment upon oath in i. Eliz. may appear; which manifesteth, that he caused the tall and costly spire made of timber, together with the battlements, all covered with lead, to be pull'd down, being a landmark so eminent in this part of the woodland, where the ways are not easy to hit, that it was called the *Lanthorn of Arden*. As also the two fair iles, and a goodly building, called *S. Anne's Chappell*, adjoyn-ing, the roofs of which were likewise leaded. By reason of which sacrilegious action, the steeple, standing in the midst, took wet, and decayed, so that, about the year 1600, it fell down to the ground, and with it a great part of the church, Ric. Chamberlain, Esq., being then Lord of this manour, by the Grant of Q. Mary to Edw. Chamberlain, his father, (of the family of Chamberlain of *Shirburn* in *Oxfords*.) who, with some contribution from the country, did, about the year 1607, begin the building of the tower again; but, instead thereof, took totally away all the west part of the church, with the north and south cross iles, making that which was the quire the body of the church, but pulled down the other beautifull



chappells on the north and south side of the quire, setting up that which stood on the north side at the east end for a chancell, wherein were the monuments of Edw. Grey Visc. L'isle and his 2 wives: And in that on the south side of Thomas Grey Marg. Dorset and his Lady, with their statues in alabaster excellently cut; and in the vault underneath the same their bodyes; that of the Marquess embalmed and wrapt in cerecloth many double in a coffin of lead; which, through the vain curiosity of some being opened, his corps was found as intire, and free from any seeming corruption, as if he had been but newly dead. At the pulling down and translating of which chappell, it was resolved that the monuments should be set up againe in the church; the said corps with the coffin of lead being accordingly removed thither: howbeit this good intention afterwards cooled, and the statues of the Marquess and his lady were cast into the belfrey, that of the woman having a coronet on her head; and those of the other thrown into an old outhouse amongst lime and rubbish; all which I myself have seen."<sup>1</sup>

The restoration of the Church and Monarchy did not in any adequate degree repair the injuries which had fallen on churches and church furniture, during the twenty disastrous years which had preceded. Nor was there anything during this period to indicate a change in architectural taste and execution; the debased Gothic of Queen Elizabeth's reign being still followed in the few restorations and additions which were attempted about this period.

But there is one work which it would be unjust not to mention with the great praise which it deserves. I have already said that Lichfield Cathedral suffered very greatly in the Rebellion, and when Bishop Hacket came to his throne,<sup>2</sup> the roof was beaten in, the central spire was entirely destroyed, those at the west end were nearly in the same state, the sculpture in the west part was defaced, the painted glass was broken, and the monuments mutilated and despoiled. The morning after his arrival at Lichfield, Bishop Hacket began the restoration of his desolated cathedral. He roused his servants by break of day, set his own coach horses with trams and labourers, to remove the rubbish, and laid the first hand to the work himself. Very large subscriptions were

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's Warwickshire.

<sup>2</sup> Which was offered to the notorious Baxter, "*factionis Presbyterianæ Coryphæus*," as Godwin calls him.

Would he in better times, and with the grace of an office of Divine institution, have built up that which he and his had laboured to destroy?



gathered, chiefly by the personal assiduity of the Bishop, who obtained also from Charles II. a grant of one hundred fair timber trees out of Needwood forest, towards the work. In eight years the work was completed at a cost of £20,000,<sup>1</sup> and on the 24th December, 1669, the church was solemnly reconsecrated. In the following year Bishop Hacket contracted for six bells; the first of which only was hung during his life. He was then in his last illness, and went out of his bedchamber into the next room to hear it. He was pleased with the sound, blessed God Who had favoured him with life to hear it, and said that it would be his passing-bell. He never left his chamber again.<sup>2</sup>

I transcribe the account of another meritorious restoration, from Staveley's History of Churches. I am not able to say how far the praise of architectural propriety is due to the work there recorded.

"Sir Robert Shirley, late of Stanton Harold, in the county of Leicester, Baronet, deceased, pull'd down an old ruinous church at Stanton Harold, and in the place thereof, at his own charges, built a new one, compleat for the workmanship; plentiful and honourable for the furniture, ornaments, and endowment; but most admirable for the time wherein the same was undertaken and finished; it being then when the roofs of our cathedrals were generally pulled down, and the foundation of all other churches undermined: the time and manner of which work is set forth by an inscription over the entrance thus:

IN THE YEAR 1653,  
WHEN ALL THINGS SACRED THROUGHOUT  
THE NATION  
WERE EITHER DEMOLISHED OR PROFANED,  
SIR ROBERT SHIRLEY, BARONET,  
FOUNDED THIS CHURCH,  
WHOSE SINGULAR PRAISE IT IS,  
TO HAVE DONE THE BEST THINGS IN THE  
WORST TIMES,  
AND  
HOPED THEM IN THE MOST CALAMITOUS.  
'THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL BE HAD IN EVERLASTING  
REMEMBRANCE.'"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godwin.

<sup>2</sup> See Winkles' Cathedrals.

<sup>3</sup> Staveley, pp. 143, 144.



In the year 1666, an event took place which had a most disastrous influence on ecclesiastical architecture, and introduced, or at least firmly established, the pseudo-classic style which prevailed until very recently. The fire of London destroyed a great part of the city, with several churches, among which was the Cathedral Church of S. Paul, the largest, and one of the most splendid in the kingdom. The plan of the new city, and the rebuilding of most of the churches, including S. Paul's, was committed to Sir Christopher Wren, who brought to his task the requisite energy, and the no less requisite self-confidence; but who felt or affected a contempt for the architectural works of the mediæval Church, which boded ill for the sacred edifices which were to start into renewed life under his hands. It is indeed greatly to be regretted that when so many churches were to be rebuilt, the style chosen should have been so unecclesiastical: but it would have been a subject of still deeper regret, if Wren, with his very imperfect knowledge of pointed architecture had affected that style for his churches. In some instances he imitated the Gothic forms and arrangements, but his imitations are always failures. Witness his western towers of Westminster Abbey, and his steeple of S. Dunstan's in the east.

Still the name of Wren is a household word with Englishmen, and his crowning work is a glorious effort of human design and execution: nor is there any material of the history of the arts in those days more interesting than the professional documents which proceeded from his pen. I have transferred, therefore, to the Appendix to this chapter, his remarks on the style proper for the western towers of S. Peter's Abbey, and on the state of S. Paul's Cathedral after the fire.

From Wren's time downwards till within a few years past, the only two classes into which churches can fairly be arranged, are those that aim at a religious character with or without success; and those that do not fail in this object, because they do not aspire to attain it.<sup>1</sup> But I have not the smallest intention of entering into the detailed examination which would be requisite to give satisfactory examples of these two classes.

Nor shall I dare to discuss the present prospects of ecclesi-

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is somewhere suggested in the "Ecclesiologist."



astical art, or to weigh the merits of those modern architects, who have at least partially succeeded in their endeavour to revive a truly ecclesiastical style. I shall, however, suggest one word in arrest of too severe a judgment on what has yet been done :—that it does not fall to the lot of the same person or the same generation, both to be first in action, and to profit by experience. It is no fair disparagement of many noble works that they have aided the great development by their defects, as well as by their beauties. For the rest, if I may venture to hope that the present volume may work with those persons and circumstances which are giving a healthful stimulus to the present revival of ecclesiastical art, it will be rather by carrying back the thoughts of those interested to the times which we must emulate, than by anticipating the success which may crown our future efforts. And let me not conceal my entire consciousness that I must at last fall far behind the merit of those who even in the smallest degree realize the ideal after which we are striving, either by their professional skill, or by well-directed munificence. The architect who has restored one church in the true spirit of a restorer, or built one church in the true spirit of a churchman, has done more to forward our common object, than all the commendations of Alan of Walsingham, and of William of Wykeham, that were ever penned; and one sacrifice, one offering on the altar, in which the æsthetic element is animated by a Christian spirit, is more than whole piles of description, and manuals, and histories.

## APPENDIX.

### I.

*A contemporary narrative of the burning of St. Paul's Steeple, in 1561, published in the Archæologia, Vol. XI.*

“The true reporte of the  
burning of the Steple and  
church of Paules, in London.

“On Wednesday, beinge the fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our LORD 1561, and in the thyrde year of the reigne of our Soveraygne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Ire-



land, Defender of the Faith, &c., between one and two of the clocke at afternoone, was scene a marveilous great fyrie lightning, and immediately insued a most terrible hydeous cracke of thunder, such as seldom hath been heard, and that by estimacion of sense, directlye over the citie of London. At which instance the corner of a turret of the steple of St. Martin's church within Ludgate was torne, and divers great stones casten downe, and a hole broken throughe the roofe and timber of the said church by the fall of the same stones.

"For divers persones in tyme of the saide tempest being on the river of Thamys, and others, beyng in the fieldes, nere adjoyning to ye citie, affirmed, that thei saw a long and a speare pointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the broche or shaft of Paules steple from the easte westwarde. And some of the parish of St. Martin's then being in the streate, dyd feele a marveyulous strong ayre or whorlewynd, with a smel lyke brimstone coming from Paules church, and withal heard the rush of ye stones which fell frō their steeple into the church. Betwene iiij and five of the clocke, a smoke was espied, by divers, to breake oute under the bowle of the said shaft of Paules, and namely, by Peter Johnson, principall Registrer to the Bishop of Londō, who immediately brought word to the Bishop's house. But sodeinly after, as it were in a momente, the flame brake forth in a circle like a garlande rounde about the broche, about two yards to the estimacion of sight under the bowle of the said shaft, and increased in suche wise, that within a quarter of an howre, or little more, the crosse and the egle on the toppe fell downe upon the south crosse ile. The Lord Maior being sent for, and his brethren came with all spede possible, with ye Bishop of London, and others, for ye best way of remedy. And thither came also ye Lord Keper of the great seale, and the Lord Treasurer, who by their wisdom and authoritie dyrected as good order, as in so great a confusiō could possibly be.

"Some there wer, pretēding experience in warres, that cōuceled the remanente of the steple to be shot down with canons, which counsel was not liked, as most perilous both for the dispersing of the fire, and destructiō of houses and people; other perceiving the steple to be past all recovery, considering the hugeness of the fier, and the dropping of the leade, thought beste to geat ladders and scale the church, and with axes to hew down a space of the roofe of the church to stay the fier, at least to save some part of the saide church, which was concluded. But before the ladders and buckets could be brought, and things put in any order, and especially because the church was of such height, that thei could not scale it, and no sufficiente number of axes could be had, ye laborers also being troubled with ye multitude of ydle gazers, the most part of the higheste roofe of the church was on fier.

"Fyrst, the fall of the crosse and egle fired the southe crosse ile, which ile was first consumed, the beames and brands of the steeple fell downe on every side, and fired the other thre partes, that is to saye, the chauncel or quier, the north ile, and the body of the church, so that in one howres



space ye broch of the steple was brent downe to ye battlements, and the most part of ye highest rooffe of the church likewise consumed. The state of the steple and church seming both desperate, my Lord Mayor was advised by one maister Winter, of ye admiraltie, to conuerte the most part of his care and provisiō to preserve the Bishop's palace adjoyning to the north-west end of the church : least frō that house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adjoyning, whereupon the ladders, buckets, and laborers, were commanded thither, and by greate labor and diligence, a piece of the rooffe of the north ile was cut down, and the fier so stayed, and by muche water, that parte quenched, and the said Bishop's house preserved. It pleased GOD also at the same tyme bothe to turne and calme the winde, which afore was vehemēt, and continued stil high and greate in other partes without the citie.

“ There wer above v.c. persons yt laboured in carrying and filling water, and divers substancial citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, so did also divers and sondrye gentlemen, whose names wer not knownen to the writer hereof, but amongst other, the said M. Winter, and one Mr. Stranguish did both take notable paines in their own persons, and also much directed and encouraged other, and that not without great daūger to theselves. In ye evening came the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, from the court at Grenewiche, whē the Queenes majesty, assone as the rage of the fier was espied by her majesty and others in the court, of the pitifull inclination and love that her gracious highnesse dyd beare both to ye said church, and ye citie, sent to assyst my Lorde Mayor for the suppressyng of the fyre, who with his wisdom, authority, and diligent travayl, did very much good therein. About x of the clocke the fyrcenes of the fyre was past, the tymbre being fallen, and lyinge brenninge uppon the vaultes of stone, the vaultes yet (GOD be thanked) standynge unperished : so as onelye the tymbre of the hole church was consumed, and the lead molten, savyng the most part of the two lowe iles of the queare, and a piece of the north ile, and an other smal piece of ye southe, in the bodye of the church. Notwithstandyng all which, it pleased the merciful GOD in His wrath to remēbre His mercie, and to enclose the harme of this most fyerce and terrible fyre wythin the walles of thys one church, not extending any part of His wrath in this fyre uppon the rest of the citie, which to all reason and sence of man was subject to utter distruction. For in the hole city without the church no stycke was kyndled surelye, notwithstanding that in diverse partes and stretes, and within the houses bothe adjoyning, and of a good distaunce, as in Fletestrete and Newgate market, by the violence of fyre, burninge coles of greate bignesse fell downe almoost as thicke as haylstones, and flawes of lead were blowen abroad into the gardins without yt citie, like flawes of snowe in bredthe, w'oute hurt, GOD be thanked, to any house or persō. Many fond talkes goe abroad of the original cause of this fier. Some say it was negligence of plumbers, wheras by due examination, it is proved that no plumbers or other workemen laboured in the church for sixe



monethes before. Others suspect it was done by some wicked practice of wildfyer or gunpowder, but no just suspicions thereof by any examinacion can be founde hitherto. Some suspect conjurers and sorcerers, wherof there is also no great likelyhode. And if it hadde bene wrought yt waie, yet could not the devil have done it, without GOD's permissiō, and to some purpose of His unsearcheable judgemēts, as appereth in the story of Job. The true cause, as it semeth, was the tēpest by GOD's suffrance: for it cannot be otherwise gathered, but that at ye said great and terrible thunderclap, when St. Martin's steple was torne, the lightning, which by natural order smiteth ye highest, did first smite ye top of Paules steple, and entring in at the small holes, which have always remained open for building skaffoldes to the workes, and finding the timbers very olde and drie, did kindle the same, and so the fier increasing grew to a flame, and wrought ye effecte which folowed, most terrible then to behold and now most lamentable to looke on.

“ On Sonday folowing, beyng the viii day of June, the reverend in GOD, the Bishop of Duresme, at Paules crosse, made a learned and fruitful sermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, and namely to humble obediēce of the lawes and superior powers, which vertue is much decayed in these our daies. Seming to have intellygēce from the Queenes highnes, that her Majestie intendeth that more severitie of lawes shall be executed against persons disobedyent as well in causes of religion as civil, to the great rejoysing of his auditors. He exhorted also hys audiēce to take this as a generall warninge to the whole realme, and namelye to the citie of London, of some greater plage to folow, if amendmente of lyfe in all states did not ensue: He muche reproved those persons whiche woulde assigne the cause of this wrathe of GOD to any perticular state of mē, or that were diligent to loke into other mens lyves, and could see no faultes in themselves; but wished that every man wold descend into himselfe, and say with David, *Ego sum qui peccavi*. I am he that hathe sinned, and so furth, to that effect very godlye. He also not onely reproved the prophanatyon of the said churche of Paules, of long time heretofore abused by walking, jangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining, &c., namely, in sermons and service time: but also aūswered by the way to the objections of such evil-tunged persōs, which do impute this token of GOD's deserved ire, to alteratiō or rather reformatiō of religiō, declaring out of aūcient records and histories, ye like, yea and greater matters, had befallen in the time of superstitiō and ignorance. For in the first year of King Stephē, not only the said churche of Paules was brent, but also a great part of the city, that is to say frō Londō bridge unto St. Clemēts without Tēple bar, was by fier cōsumed. And in ye daies of King Hēry ye VI. ye steple of Paules was also fired by lightning, although it was then staid by diligēce of ye citizens, ye fier being thē by likelyhode not so fierce. Many other suche like cōmon calamities he rehersed, whiche had happened in other cōuntries, both nigh to this realm, and far of, where the church of Rome hath most authority, and therefore concluded the surest way to be, yt



every man should judge, axamin, and amēd himselfe, and embrace, beleve, and truely folow ye word of GOD, and earnestly to pray to GOD to turn away frō us His deserved wrath and indignation, wherof this His terrible work is a most certein warning, if we repent not unfeinedly. The whiche GOD grāt maye come to passe in all estates and degrees, to ye glory of His name, and to our endlesse comfort, in CHRIST our SAVIOUR. Amen.

GOD save the Queene."

## II.

*Sir Christopher Wren's account of the state of S. Paul's Cathedral, after the Fire of London, 1666. From the Antiquarian Repertory.*

What time and weather had left entire in the old, and art in the new repaired parts of this great pile of S. Pauls, the late calamitie of fire hath so weakned and defac'd, that it now appears like some antique ruine of 2000 years continuance: and to repaire it sufficiently, will be like the mending of ye Argo-navis, scarce any thing will at last be left of the old.

The first decaies of it were great, from severall causes; first, from the originall building itself: for it was not well shaped and design'd for the firme bearing of its owne vault, how massy soever ye walls seemed to be, nor were the materialls good: for it seem'd to have been built out of the stone of some other antient ruines, the walls being of 2 severall sorts of freestone, and those small; and ye coar wthin was raggestone, cast in rough wth mortar and putty, wch is not a durable way of building, unless there had been that peculiar sort of banding wth some thorowe courses, wch is necessary in this kind of fillingwork, but was omitted in this fabrick. This accusation belongs chiefly to the west, north and south parts. The quire was of later and better worke, not inferiour to most Gothick fabricks of yt age. The tower, though it had ye effects of an ill manner of building and small stones, and fillingwork, yet was it more carefully banded, and cramped wth much iron.

A second reason of ye decaies, wch appeared before ye last fire, was in probabilitie the former fire, wch consumed ye whole roof in ye reign of Q. Elizt. The fall of timber then upon ye vault, was certainly one maine cause of ye cracks wch appeared in ye vault, and of ye spreading out of ye walls above 10 inches in some places frō their true p'pendicular, as it now appears more manifestly. This giving ovt of ye walls was endeavoured to be corrected by ye artist of the last repaires, who plac'd his new case of Portland stone truely p'pendicular, and if he had p'ceeded wth casing it wthin, ye whole had been tolerably corrected. But now even this new work is gone away frō its p'pendicular allso by this 2d fall of ye rooffe in this last fire. This is most manifest in ye north-west ile.

The second ruines are they that have put the restauration past remedy, ye effects of wch I shall briefly enumerate.



First, the portick is totally deprived of yt excellent beauty and strength wch time alone and weather could have no more overthrowne than the naturall rocks, so great and good were ye materialls, and so skillfully were they lay'd after a true Roman manner. But so impatient is ye Portland-stone of fire, that many tunns of stone are scaled off, and ye columns flawed quite through.

Next ye south-west corner, one of ye vast pillars of ye body of ye church, wth all yt it supported, is fallen.

All along the body of ye church ye pillars are more given out than they were before the fire, and more flawed towards ye bottome, by ye burning of ye goods belowe, and ye timber fallen frō above.

This further spreading of ye pillars wthin hath also carried out the walls of ye iles, and reduced the circular ribbs of ye vaults of ye iles to be of a forme, wch to ye eye appears distorted and compressed, especially in the north-west ile of ye body of the church.

The tower & ye parts next about it have suffered the least, for there by reason that ye walls lying in form of a cross give a firme and immoveable buttment each to other, and they stand still in their position, and support their vaults; wch shows manifestly, that ye fall of ye timber alone could not break ye vaults, unless where ye same concussion had force enough to make ye walls allso give out.

And this is ye reason of ye great desolac'on wch appears in the new quire, for there ye falling vaults in spite of all the small buttresses, hath broken them short, or dislocated the stouter of them, & overthrowing ye north wall and pillars and consequently ye vaults of ye north-east ile, hath broken open the vaults of S. Faith's (though those were of very great strength) but irresistible is ye force of so many 1000 tunns, augmented by the height of ye fall.

Having shewn in part the deplorable condic'on of ō patient, we are to consult of ye cure, if possibly art may effect it. And herein we must imitate ye physitian, who, when he finds a totall decay of nature, bends his skill to a palliation, to give respite for a better settlemt of ye estate of ye patient. The question is then, where best to begin this kind of practise, that is, to make a quire for present use.

It will worst of all be effected in the new quire, for there the walls and pillars being falln, it will cost a large sūme to restore them to their former height, and before this can be effected, the very substrucc'on and repaire of S. Faith's will cost so much, that I shall but fright this age wth ye computac'on of that wch is to be done in the darke, before any thing will appear for ye use desired.

The old quire seems to some a convenient place, and yt wch will be most easily effected; because ye vault there looks firme, or easily reparable, as far as to ye place where was once ye old pulpit. But this designe will not be wthout very materiall objections. First, the place is very short and little between ye stone-skreen and the breach, and only capable of a little quire, not of an auditory.



And if the auditory be made without, yet secondly, all ye adjacent places are under the ruines of a falling tower, wch every day throws off smaller scales, and in frosts will yield such showers of the outside-stones (if no greater parts come downe wth tempests,) that ye new roofs (yet to be made) will be broken up, if no further mischiefs ensue. Thirdly, you are to make such a dismall procession through ruines to come thither, that the very passage will be a penance. Fourthly, this cannot be effected without considerable expense of making of partic'on-walls to ye topp to sever this part on every side from the ruines, and covering wth timber and lead these four short parts of ye cross next ye tower, and covering the tower also, that is, if you make room for ye auditory, as well as the quire, the quire itself being very little.

These waies being found inconvenient and expensefull, either of taking out a part, where ye new quire was, or where the old quire is, with the parts west, north, and south next the tower, as far as the vaults stand; it remains that we seek it in the body of the church. And this is that wch I should humbly advise, as the properest and cheapest way of making a sufficient quire and auditory, after this manner.

I would take the lesser north and south door for the entrances, and leaving two intercolumniations eastward, and three or four westward, I would there make partic'on-walls of the fallen stone upon the place. The east part above the doores may be contriv'd into a quire, the west into the auditory. I would lay a timber-roof as low as the bottoms of the upper windows, wth a flat fretted railing. The lead sav'd out of the burning will more than cover it. Of iron and of pavemt there is enough for all uses. The roof lying low, will not appeare above the walls, and since we cannot mend this great ruine, we will not disfigure it, but that it still shall have its full motives to work, if possible, upon this, or the next ages; and yet within it shall have all convenience and light (by turning the second story of arches into windows,) and a beauty durable to the next two centuries of years, and yet prove so cheap, that between 3000£. & 4000£. shall effect it all in one summer.

And having wth this ease obtained a p'sent cathedrall, there will be time to consider of a more durable and noble fabrick, to be made in the place of the tower and eastern parts of the church, when the minds of men, now contracted to many objects of necessary charge, shall by GOD's blessing be more widened, after a happy restauration, both of the buildings and wealth of the city and nation. In the meane while, to derive, if not a stream, yet some little drills of charitie this way, or at least to preserve that already obtained, from being diverted, it may prove ill advise, to seem to begin something of this new fabrick. But I confess this cannot well be put in execution, without taking downe all that part of the ruines, wch whether it be yet seasonable to do, we must leave to our superiours.



## III.

The following extracts are made from Sir Christopher Wren's Letter to Atterbury, then (1713) Dean of Westminster, as affording not only an account of the state of Westminster Abbey, in his day, but also sufficient insight into his own feeling about Gothic architecture, which, from his influence on church building, is a matter of importance. The whole letter is given in the *Parentalia*, but these quotations are made from a larger extract in Neale's Westminster.

"The Saracen mode of building, seen in the East, soon spread over Europe, and particularly in France ; the fashions of which nation we affected to imitate in all ages, even when we were at enmity with it. Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of archbuttresses, (so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaultings of the nave ;) the Romans always concealed their buttments, whereas the Normans thought them ornamental. These, I have observed, are the first things that occasion the ruin of cathedrals, from being so exposed to the air and weather ; the coping, which cannot defend them, first failing ; and if they give way the vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no use, and as little ornament ; the pride of a very high roof, raised above reasonable pitch, is not for duration, for the lead is apt to slip ; but we are tied to this form, and must be contented with original faults in the first design. But that which is most to be lamented is the unhappy choice of materials ; the stone is decayed four inches deep, and falls off perpetually in great scales. I find, after the Conquest, all our artists were fetched from Normandy ; they loved to work in their own Caen stone, which is more beautiful than durable : this was found expensive to bring hither, so they thought Rye-gate stone, in Surrey, the nearest like their own, being a stone that would saw and work like wood ; but it is not durable, as is manifest ; and they used this for the ashler of the whole fabric, which is now disfigured in the highest degree : this stone takes in water, which, being frozen, scales off, whereas good stone gathers a crust, and defends itself, as many of our English freestones do. And though we have also the best oak timber in the world, yet these senseless artificers would work (as in Westminster Hall, and other places,) their own chesnuts from Normandy : that timber is not natural to England ; it works finely, but sooner decays than oak. The roof in the Abbey is oak, but mixed with chesnut, and wrought after a bad Norman manner, that does not secure it from stretching and damaging the walls : and the water of the gutters is ill carried off. . . . .

"I have yet said nothing of King Henry the VIIth's chapel, a nice embroidered work, and performed with tender Caen stone ; and though lately built, in comparison, is so eaten up by our weather, that it begs for some compassion, which I hope the sovereign power will take, as it is the regal sepulture.



"I begin, as I said, to set down what is necessary for completing the repairs; though part whereof I can but guess at, because I cannot yet come to the north side, to make a full discovery of the defects there; but I hope to find it rather better than the south side, for it is the vicissitudes of heat and cold, drought and moisture, that rot all materials more than the extremities that are constant, of any of these accidents. This is manifest in timber, which if always underground, and wet, never decays, otherwise Venice and Amsterdam would fall. It is the same in lead work; for the north side of a steep roof is usually much less decayed than the south, and the same is commonly seen in stone-work. Besides, the buttresses here are more substantial than those of the south side, which were indiscreetly altered for the sake of the cloyster; and I find some emendations have been made about eighty years since, but not well. . . . .

"And now, having given a summary account of what will perfect the repairs, let me add what I wish might be done to render those parts with a proper aspect, which were left abruptly imperfect by the last builders, when the monastery was dissolved by King Henry VIII.

"It was plainly intended originally to have had a steeple, the beginnings of which appear on the corners of the cross, but left off before it rose so high as the ridge of the roof; and the vault of the choir under it is only lath and plaister, now rotten, and must be taken care of. Lest it should be doubted whether the four pillars below be able to bear a steeple, because they seem a little swayed inward, I have considered how they may be unquestionably secured, so as to support the greatest weight that need be laid upon them; and this after a manner that will add to their shape and beauty.

"The pillars being once well secured from further distortion, it will be necessary to confirm all by adding more weight upon them, that is, by building a tower according to the original intention of the architect. In my opinion, the tower should be continued to, at least, as much in height above the roof as it is in breadth; and if a spire be added to it, it will give a proper grace to the whole fabric, and the west end of the city which seems to want it. I have made a design, which will not be very expensive, but light, and still in the Gothic form, and of a style with the rest of the structure, which I would strictly adhere to throughout the whole intention: to deviate from the old form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no person of a good taste could relish. I have varied a little in giving twelve sides to the spire instead of eight, for reasons to be discerned upon the model. The angles of pyramids in the Gothic architecture were usually enriched with the flower the botanists call *calceolus*,<sup>1</sup> which is a proper form to help workmen to ascend on the outside to amend

<sup>1</sup> This is by no means a happy attempt to appropriate the conventional forms of Gothic architecture to a natural prototype. Mr. Browne in his

valuable work on York Minster has attempted the same thing, in many instances, but with like success.



any defects, without raising large scaffolds upon every slight occasion. I have done the same, it being of so good use, as well as an agreeable ornament.

“The next thing to be considered is, to finish what was left undone at the west front. It is evident that the two towers there were left imperfect; the one much higher than the other, though still too low for bells, the sounds of which are stifled by the height of the roof above them: they ought certainly to be carried to an equal height, one story above the ridge of the roof, still continuing the Gothic manner in the stone-work and tracery. Something must be done to strengthen the west window, which is crazy; the pediment is only boarded, but ought undoubtedly to be of stone. I have given such a design as I conceive may be suitable for this part. . . . .

“The great north window had been formerly in danger of ruin, but was upheld, and stopped up for the present with plaister: it will be most necessary to rebuild this with Portland stone, to answer the south rose-window, which was well rebuilt about forty years since. The staircases at the corners must be new ashlered, and pyramids set upon them conformable to the old style, to make the whole of a piece. I have therefore made a design, in order to restore it to its proper shape, as first intended, but which was indiscreetly tampered with some years since, by patching on a little Doric passage before the great window, and cropping off the pyramids, and covering the staircases with very improper roofs of timber and lead, which can never agree with any other part of the design.

“For all these new additions I have prepared perfect draughts and models, such as I conceive may agree with the original scheme of the old architect, without any modern mixtures to show my own inventions; in like manner as I have, among the parochial churches of London, given some few examples (where I was obliged to deviate from a better style), which appear not ungraceful, but ornamental, to the east part of the city; and it is to be hoped by the public care, the west part also, in good time, will be as well adorned; and surely by nothing more properly than a lofty spire, and western towers to Westminster Abbey.”







*July, 1848.*

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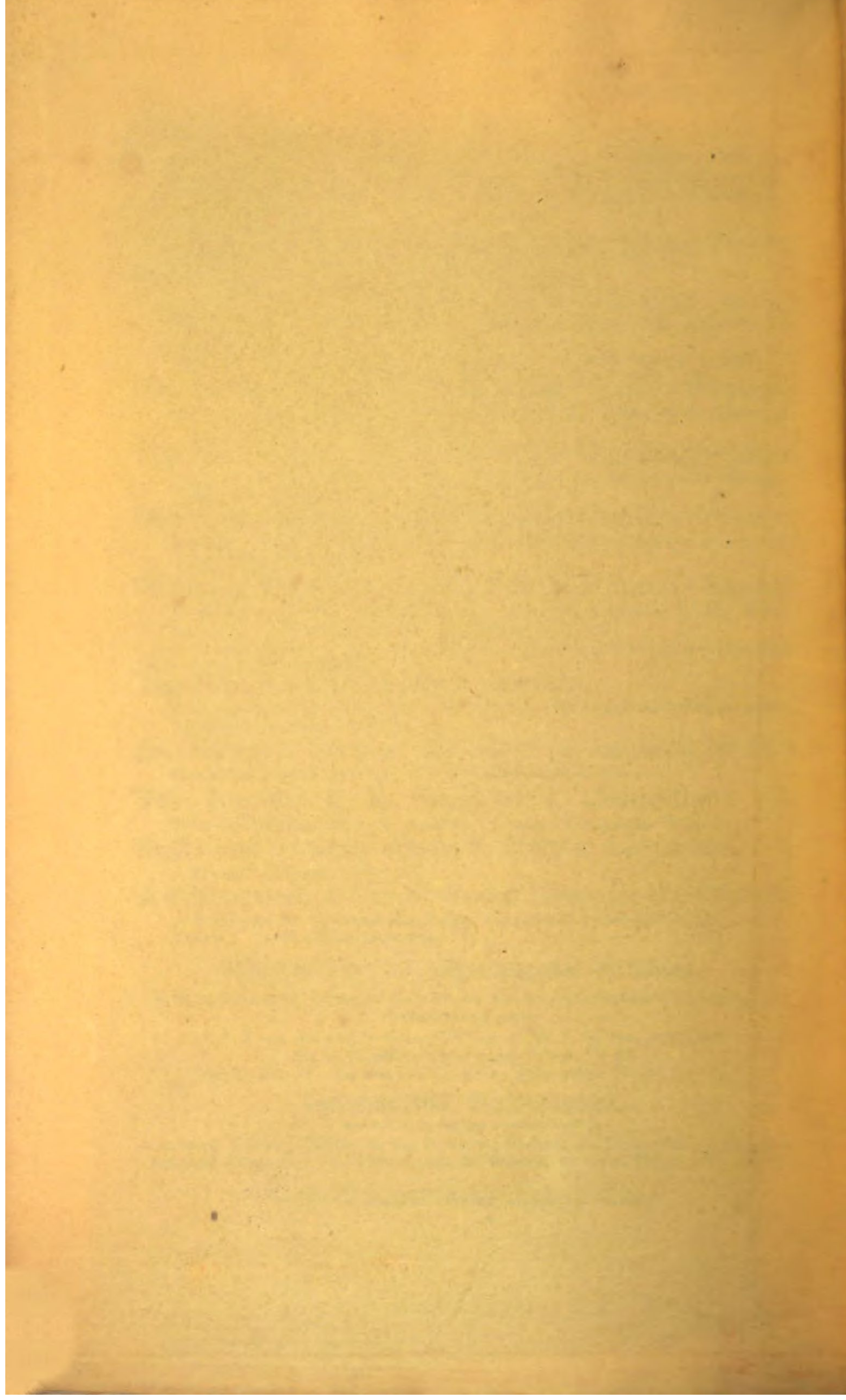


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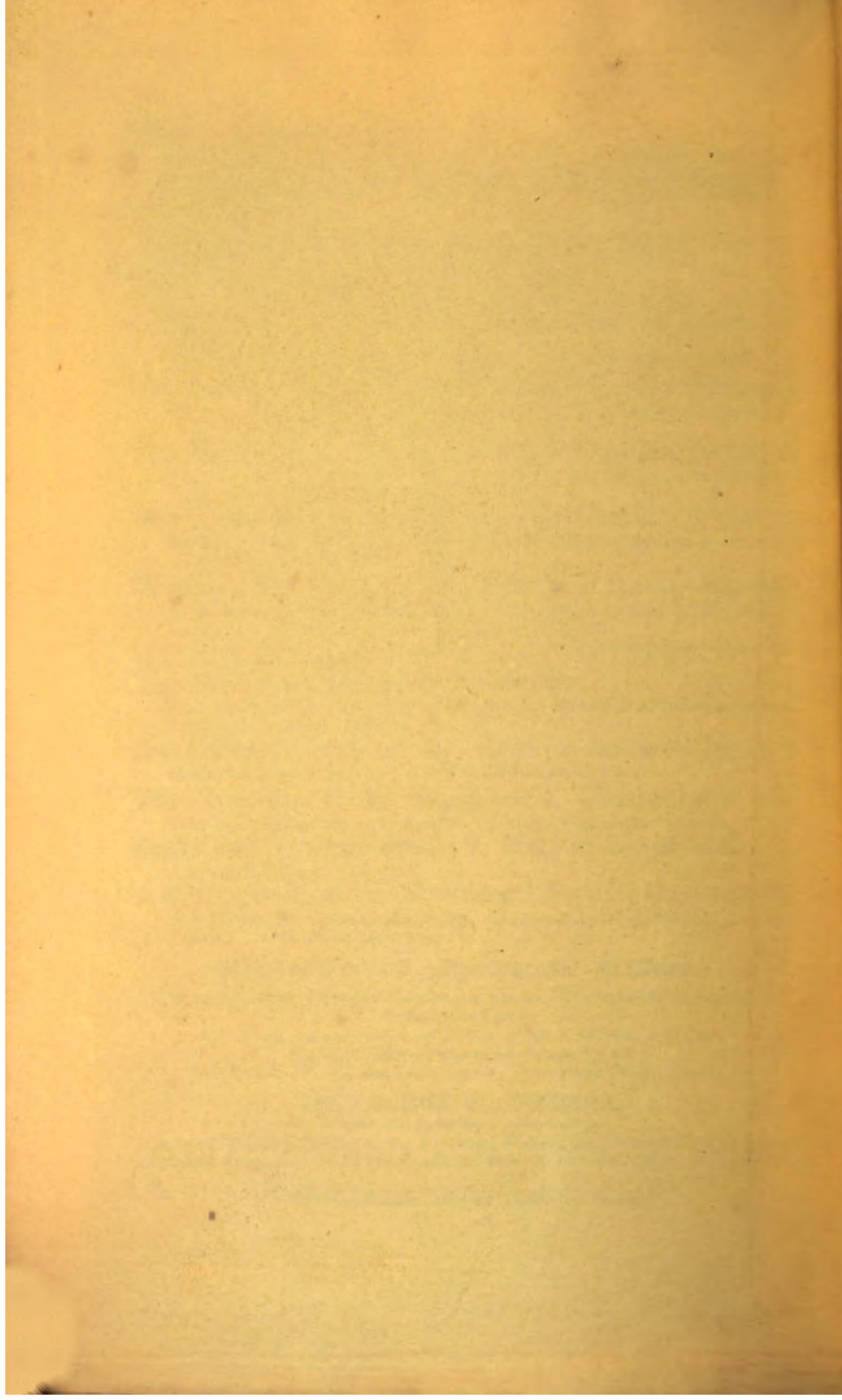


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